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*The story of
Ireland and her church*

John Macbeth

114. e. 45.

**THE
STORY OF IRELAND AND HER CHURCH.**

THE STORY
OF
IRELAND AND HER CHURCH

FROM THE
Earliest Times to the Present Day.

BY
REV. JOHN MACBETH, LL.D.,
Rector of Killegney and Canon of Ferns;
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"Notes on the Book of Common Prayer," &c.

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1899.

In publishing this work, it is to be understood that the Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge is not responsible for every statement contained in it, but commends it as a useful popular account of the Church of Ireland.

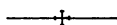


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P R E F A C E .

THE Church of Ireland is one of the most ancient Churches in Christendom. The national life of the country for more than fourteen hundred years is reflected in her history. The Story of Ireland and her Church is, therefore, a subject which should interest all Irishmen. Especially should the members of the Church be familiar with her history, and thus have an intelligent appreciation of her position, and of her claims on their allegiance.

Many excellent works on Irish Church history exist; but they treat only of portions of the history, and that with such a wealth of detail as to render them more suitable for the student of ecclesiastical history than for the general public. The smaller works are generally of an elementary character. The want of a History of the Church of Ireland, suitable for ordinary readers, has long been felt. The present book is an attempt to supply that want.

I have tried, in a series of short chapters, not only to picture the surroundings amidst which, during the various epochs of her history, the Church has endeavoured to carry on her work, but also to point out the causes which have tended to further or to hinder her progress.

The national history, in its political and social aspects, has only been dwelt upon so far as was necessary to elucidate that of the Church, with which it is so intimately connected.

In a small, popular work like the present, I have considered it unnecessary to give references to the various authorities. But I have availed myself of every source of information within my reach, and have spared no pains, in order to verify statements of facts, and to present an accurate and impartial account of the chequered history of Ireland and her Church.

I have added a few illustrations of an educational character, as more likely to convey fuller information on the subjects treated of than mere description could do. The sources from which the copyright illustrations have been taken are mentioned in connection with each, and I desire to express my obligations to those who have permitted me to reproduce them.

I am much indebted to several friends for valuable help and important suggestions, as the work passed through the press; and I desire especially to acknowledge the generous assistance I have received from the Rev. R. Godfrey M. Webster, M.A., Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, who kindly read the proofs for me, and from the Rev. Canon Walsh, D.D., Rector of St. Stephen's, Dublin, whose sound scholarship and advice have enabled me to make the work more accurate than it otherwise would have been.

J. MACBETH.

KILLEGNEY PARSONAGE, ENNISCORTHY,
14th February, 1899.

ERRATUM.

Page 10, line 7, *for* "craven" *read* "carven."

IRELAND AND HER CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE COLONIZATION OF IRELAND.

THE early history of Ireland, like that of other ancient nations, is involved in obscurity. Much of what has been recorded by our annalists rests only on legend and fable. Yet a substratum of truth, no doubt, underlies even the most improbable legends of the bards and poets.

In early times the accounts of events thought worthy of remembrance were not committed to writing, but were preserved by tradition, and enshrined in the songs and ballads of the people. Tradition in its very nature is uncertain ; and as the imagination of the bards embellished its scanty facts with metaphor and fictitious detail, much that is fabulous has passed for authentic history.

In the classical literature of Greece and Rome, as in the sagas of the northern nations, the gods and goddesses of heathen mythology are generally easily

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recognised as such. In Irish literature it is not so. Mythological tales are recorded as part of the ordinary annals of the country, and these have tended to cast undue discredit on the early history of Ireland as compared with that of other ancient nations.

There is, however, in the comparison of languages, the topography of the country, and other circumstances, much which tends to corroborate in general the usually received accounts of the various efforts to colonize Ireland in pre-historic times. These show that the original inhabitants of the island were Celts—a branch of the great Aryan race, which before the dawn of history gradually migrated from Asia. They moved westward through Greece and Gaul, and ultimately occupied the British Isles. Their descendants are still found in Brittany, Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland, as well as in Ireland. In these countries dialects of the old Celtic language still survive.

The legendary annals tell of at least five distinct colonies which settled in Ireland long before the Christian era.

1. The Parthalonians are said to have been the earliest colonists. They are represented as arriving not long after the confusion of tongues at Babel, and the consequent dispersion of mankind. Their leader was Parthalon, a descendant of Magog, son of Japheth. They settled in the open plain between Tallaght and the Hill of Howth. But about 300 years after their arrival, the legend asserts, the whole

colony was destroyed by a dreadful pestilence, and they were buried at the Hill of Tallaght.¹

2. The Nemedians, under their leader Nemed, came from Scythia, and established themselves in Ireland. Their descendants were, however, at constant war with a giant race of African pirates, called Fomorians, who ultimately reduced them to slavery. Some of the Nemedians fled to Greece; others settled in Northern Europe.

3. The Firbolgs, descendants of the Nemedians who settled in Greece, returned to Ireland some centuries later, but succeeded in holding the chief power for only about forty years.

4. The Tuatha de Dananns, another branch of the Nemedians, were famous as magicians. The legends represent them as landing on the western coast under cover of a fog with which they enveloped themselves. They defeated the Firbolgs in the great battle of Moytura, and compelled them to retreat to Connaught, where the descendants of the Firbolgs were said to have continued till comparatively recent times.

Petrie considers that in the numerous ruins of dome-shaped dwellings still to be seen in the West of Ireland, we have examples of the kind of houses originally introduced by the Firbolgs in pagan times. The annexed view [FIG. 1] of one on the great island

¹ A curious corroboration of the legend is found in the name "Tallaght"—the modernized form of *Taimhleacht*, which signifies a *plague-grave*. A number of burial tumuli are still to be seen on the slope of Tallaght Hill.

of Arran, in Galway Bay, conveys a good idea of their general appearance. They were built altogether



FIG. 1.—ROUND STONE-HOUSE IN NORTH ISLAND OF ARRAN.

of stone without mortar, the walls being about four feet thick, and the interior height about eight feet.

Some years after the subjugation of the Firbolgs, the Fomorians were also defeated at the second battle of Moytura,¹ and all their old chiefs slain.

¹ The story of the contest between the Tuatha de Dananns and the Fomorians is represented by some as purely mythical—the outcome of an ancient belief in a race of good spirits, represented by the Tuatha de Dananns, and of evil spirits, represented by the Fomorians. Others, however, maintain that these were real races of men, and point, amongst other proofs, to the fact that the very name “Moytura,” where the battle was fought, is preserved in the modern name Moytirra, a place near Sligo.

The de Dananns thus became the ruling race, and so continued for more than 200 years.

5. The Milesians, or Scots, or Gaels, as they are variously named, were the most renowned of all the races which settled in Ireland. Scythia was the home of the race. For many generations they had travelled through various lands, and were long settled in the north of Spain. Milesius was their great king, from whom they took their name. Outgrowing the boundaries of this Spanish kingdom, they sought again for Inisfail, or the Isle of Destiny, which the old Druids had named as the final home of their race. They invaded Ireland ; but the weird arts of the Tuatha de Dananns raised storm and tempest, which for a time forbade their landing. At length, under Heber and Heremon—the first sole monarch of Ireland—the Tuatha de Dananns were defeated, and the Milesians became the ruling race. This position they continued to maintain, till their subjection under Henry II—a period of about 2,000 years.

From this old Milesian race, so famous for valour, many of the Irish gentry and nobility of the present day claim descent.

The Tuatha de Dananns afterwards became deified, and were reckoned among the gods¹ of the Milesian race.

¹ The belief was that, when conquered by the Milesians, the de Dananns went to live in beautiful palaces underground. Each grassy mound within which they were supposed to dwell was known as a *shée* or fairy-hill. The name *shée* (*sidhe*) then came to be given to the fairies themselves. The female was called a *banshee* (*bean-sidhe*).

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL EPOCHS.

IT is only necessary to draw attention to a few of the more eminent pagan monarchs of the Milesian race, and note one or two epochs in the history of the country which in some degree are connected with the introduction of Christianity.

Almost contemporaneously with the founding of the Milesian monarchy, the Picts settled in North Britain. The reign of Ollamh Fodhla is considered one of the chief epochs in Irish annals. He is said to have instituted at Tara—which at a later age became the capital of Ireland—a triennial convention of princes, Druids, and chiefs, at which laws were made, and the national records kept by the bards were corrected and registered. The book in which they were said to be registered was known in later times as *The Psalter of Tara*, to which Bishop Cormac's *Psalter of Cashel* was indebted for much of its contents. Laws were also made by which trades and professions became hereditary in families, and special coats of arms were granted to the most distinguished chiefs as a reward of merit and an incentive to valour. The only device hitherto borne on the Milesian banner was a dead serpent, and the rod of Moses, which their Gadelian ancestors had adopted in Egypt.

Queen Macha of the Golden Hair and her husband Kimbay, King of Ulster, built the famous rath and palace of Emania, about 300 years before the Christian era. They were situated about a mile and a half from Armagh,¹ and their erection is considered by some writers as the earliest authentic event in our national history. The large mound and enclosures cover about eleven acres. It is now called Navan² Fort, a name in which is still preserved its original designation.

This ancient palace—which was destroyed about the middle of the fourth century—was the chief residence of the Kings of Ulster, who from it were sometimes called Kings of Emania.

Here the Red Branch Knights³ of Ulster, so famous in Irish romance, met for their annual training. They reached their highest glory under Concobar, who reigned in the early part of the first century. There is an old tradition that an Irish soldier in the Roman Guard at Jerusalem, named Altus, was present at the Crucifixion of our Lord, and that, like the centurion in command, he believed on Him. On his return to Ireland, Altus told the wondrous story, and

¹ Armagh, the modern form of *Ard-Macha*, i.e., “Macha’s Height”—so called from Queen Macha, who is said to have been buried there.

² Navan, i.e., *N Aven*—*n* being the contracted article, and *Aven* the true pronunciation of the Irish word *Eamhuin*, of which the latinized form is “Emania.”

³ Red Branch Knights—so called because they resided in one of the houses of the palace called *Craadhruadh* (pronounced *Creeveroe*), or the Red Branch. A singular corroboration of this historical fact is still found in the name Creeveroe, by which to this day the adjacent townland is called.

Concobar became his earliest convert. Two centuries later the Fenians, a somewhat similar body of royal guards, almost rivalled the fame of the Red Branch Knights. The memory of their greatest leader, Finn Mac Cool, and his giant deeds, still lives amongst the people. About the middle of the second century the Firbolgs and other plebeian races, long oppressed by their Milesian conquerors, revolted, and by a massacre of the reigning families gained for a time the chief power. The old race of monarchs was restored in the person of Tuathal, who during the usurpation was in North Britain under the protection of his maternal grandfather, the King of the Picts.

Ireland had long been divided into four provinces, each ruled by a separate Ri, or King, one of whom was also Ard-ri, or supreme monarch. The Ard-ri usually lived at Tara, and had as his personal estate a small district round his palace. Tuathal enlarged this to the dimensions of the present county of Meath. This constituted the mensal lands of Tara, and belonged to the supreme monarch for the time being, in order that he might be able to maintain the dignity of the crown with due splendour and liberality. In addition to this, each provincial king had also to contribute something for the same purpose. But a special penal tribute of 6,000 cows and sheep, imposed by Tuathal, was exacted from the province of Leinster. It was known as the Borumha¹ tribute,

¹ The river Boro in Co. Wexford derives its name from this *Borumha* (pronounced *Boru*) or cow tribute. From the position of the river it was doubtless one of the fixed places for receiving the tax.

and for over 500 years was the cause of frequent wars and bloodshed. Through the influence of St. Moling, Bishop of Ferns, the tax was remitted towards the end of the seventh century, but re-imposed by Brian Boru—hence his name.

Cormac Mac Art, grandson of Conn¹ of the Hundred Battles, was monarch of Ireland about the middle of the third century. His reign forms an important epoch in Irish history. There was then considerable intercourse with Britain. Riada, a cousin of the monarch Cormac Mac Art, had already crossed over from Ulster, and, with many of his warriors and their families, settled amongst the Picts of North Britain. Their district was called Dalriada, from the name of their leader, as the Venerable Bede relates. The district in Antrim whence they emigrated was also called Dalriada, and is now known as the Route.²

Christianity had made considerable progress in Britain, and the Roman occupation had done much towards its civilization. It was a time of trouble for the Romans, and many of their soldiers were already withdrawn. Cormac, like his predecessors, invaded Britain, and after a time returned with great booty and many captives. His stay in Britain brought him into contact with a civilization somewhat higher than that of his own country. It taught him something also of the truths of Christianity—at least so much as led him to despise and discourage

¹ The memory of Conn of the Hundred Battles still survives in the name Connaught, i.e., *Conn-Acht*—the children of Conn.

² *Riada* was latinized into *Ruta*; hence the present name "Route."

idolatry, and accept a belief in the one true God. He was no longer a pagan. He knew that "they be no gods which are made with hands," and boldly proclaimed his new creed in words which Sir Samuel Ferguson thus interprets :—

“ ‘Crom-Cruach and his sub-gods twelve,’
Said Cormac, ‘are but craven treene ;¹
The axe that made them, haft or helve,
Had worthier of our worship been.

“ ‘But He who made the tree to grow,
And hid in earth the iron-stone,
And made the man with mind to know
The axe’s use, is God alone.’ ”

He told his people to bury him at Ross-na-righ, with his face to the east, and not in the royal cemetery of Brugh-na-Boinne, for he worshipped not the same god as his ancestors did who were buried there.

Cormac Mac Art is considered by some to have been the real founder of Tara and its institutions. The Brehon laws² forbade anyone with a personal blemish to reign at Tara. Cormac, who had lost an eye from the blow of a spear, was therefore obliged to resign the throne. In his comparative retirement he is said to have written a book for the guidance

¹ Treene, i.e., trees. The old plural form being used as in "oxen."

² Brehon Laws is the name given to the ancient laws of Ireland. The judges who administered them were called Brehons. An important feature of these laws was the imposition of an Eric, or fine only, for all injuries, including murder. The native Irish continued to be governed by these laws till the seventeenth century, when they were abolished by the Parliament called by James I. Many volumes of these laws still exist.

of his son Cairbre. A work attributed to him, entitled *Instructions to a Prince*, has come down to our own day, but evidently not without many emendations. He is also said to have been the first to introduce water-mills for grinding corn.

The growing weakness of the Roman power in Britain was naturally first apparent on the northern borders. The walls of Adrian and Severus were less effectively guarded. The incursions of the Picts—aided by the Dalriadan colonists and their allies from Ireland—became more frequent.

Niall of the Nine Hostages, King of Ulster, lived about the beginning of the fifth century. He was the most powerful of the pagan monarchs, and obtained not only the sovereignty of Ireland, but also of the Irish colony in North Britain, as well as that of the Picts. His descendants—known as the Northern and Southern Hy Neill or O'Neill—played an important part in the history of Ireland for over 1,000 years. Indeed, for 600 years—down to the time of Brian Boru—almost every Ard-ri of Ireland belonged to the family of Hy Neill.

Niall of the Nine Hostages led his forces again and again against Britain, and ever returned enriched with spoil and slaves. It was in his reign that Succath—the St. Patrick of later days—a youth of sixteen—was with many other captives brought to Ireland, and sold as a slave.

CHAPTER III.

IRELAND IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

WE cannot fully realize the circumstances under which Christianity was first successfully presented to the Irish people without some knowledge of the condition of the country about the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century.

Ireland was at this time, and indeed down to the eleventh century, called *Scotia*, and its inhabitants Scots, one of the names by which the great Milesian race was known. The subject races, however, were generally called *Hibernians*. Much of the land was still covered with primeval forests, in which the wolf

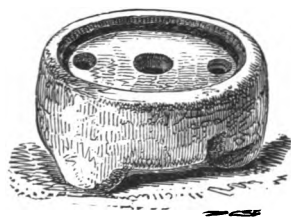


FIG. 2.—QUERN.

From Wilde's Catalogue, R.I.A. (Original in National Museum.)

and the wild boar found a home. Herds of cattle,¹ flocks of sheep and of goats, grazed on the pasture

¹ In the Brehon laws the cow was taken as the unit of price, the cost of work being calculated at so many cows.

lands. In these herds the wealth of the country chiefly consisted. Corn was cultivated as an important article of food. It was ground by women in a quern [FIG. 2] or small hand-mill, though water-mills were at this time coming into general use.

As in all Aryan races, the sept or clan was the national unit. The ties of clanship which bound the families together, and kept them loyal to their chief, were very strong. A union of clans descended from the same ancestors formed a tribe, the head of which was generally called a king. A union of tribes occupying a definite territory formed a kingdom, ruled over by a higher king. Of such kingdoms there were four. Their boundaries nearly coincided with those of the present provinces. One of these four kings was always elected supreme monarch of Ireland, and generally resided at Tara.

The palaces of the kings, like the houses of the people, were built of timber, and were of a circular shape. Trees were sunk in the ground, and the spaces between were closed with wicker-work, and plastered over with clay. These were thatched with straw or rushes. Some of the houses, however, were built of mud. The art of building with stone and mortar was not yet known, though in the west of Ireland houses of rough stone without mortar were then erected.

Each clan occupied its own district, and its members generally lived near the house of their chief, which was usually built on higher ground, and surrounded by a deep ditch and strong embankment

of earth. Many of the old raths or forts still to be seen in various parts of the country were the sites of the fortified residences of the nobility and gentry of those bygone days.

Captives taken in war were sold as slaves to the more wealthy ; they were employed as swineherds, and in the more menial occupations. The master of a household, his family, and guests, always dined at the same table with his dependants and slaves. Each sat according to his rank.

The custom of fostering—i.e., sending children to be brought up in another family—bound different families together by the strongest ties. The religion of the Irish, like that of the other branches of the Aryan race, was originally a species of Druidism. Their rites, however, seem to have differed considerably from those of other countries. The practice of human sacrifice was perhaps unknown ; at least there is not sufficient evidence that such sacrifices existed at the time when Christianity first came into contact with Irish paganism.

The Druids pretended to possess supernatural powers. Irish literature is full of accounts of the wonders wrought by their magic spells. They were the depositaries of learning, and to them was entrusted the education of the princes. Hence they possessed much influence, obtained many privileges, and occupied a very high social position in the community. The pagan Irish worshipped many gods, but, unlike the Romans, do not seem to have recognised any one god as all-powerful. Amongst their chief gods were

those whom they identified with various natural phenomena¹—as the sun, the sea, the wind, the elements. The worship of trees² and wells³ [FIG. 3] was very common, and that of the sun so universal that some of the rites connected with it have continued to be observed even to our own day. The bonfires⁴ still common in Ireland on St. John's Eve,

¹In the old pagan oath of "The sun, wind, and elements" these gods are recognised. King Laeghaire is said to have broken such an oath, and was killed in a storm, the elements having conspired to avenge the insult put upon them by the breach of the oath. A further indication of this belief in such gods seems to be implied in St. Patrick's Hymn, said to have been composed at Tara. In this he claims the very objects of their worship as instruments of God's power :—

"I bind unto myself to-day
The virtues of the star-lit heaven,
The glorious sun's life-giving ray,
The whiteness of the moon at even,
The flashing of the lightning fire,
The whirling wind's tempestuous shocks,
The stable earth, the deep salt sea,
Around the old eternal rocks."

² In Ireland, as elsewhere, the sacred tree grew probably near some grave; and veneration for the tree had, no doubt, originally some connection with that of the dead man's spirit, which was thought to dwell there.

³ The old superstition about "holy wells" has not yet died out in some parts of the country. Pilgrimages are undertaken to them in the hope of both spiritual and temporal advantage. The custom of leaving rags and trinkets at these wells, which is still observed, is but a survival of the pagan practice of making offerings to the spirits supposed to dwell in the well.

⁴ These fires are still called *Beitane* in some parts of Ireland. The word is derived from the Irish *La Beal-tinè*—i.e., the day of the passage of the fire—and has no reference to the worship of *Baal*, as was formerly thought.

are but the survival of the custom of lighting such fires as part of the ritual of the ancient sun-worship.



FIG. 3.—HOLY WELL AT DOONAN.

The local deities were very numerous, and received much attention from the common people. Almost every glen and river and spring had its presiding sprite, in whose legendary origin—like that of Boan—there was implicit belief. Boan was a great magician and a very beautiful woman, but of a daring and inquisitive disposition. She insisted on visiting a sacred well the sight of whose waters was forbidden to mortal eyes. The well, indignant at the intrusion, rushed upon her in torrents to avenge the insult. The flood thus poured forth continued to flow, and became the River Boyne, which thus derived its origin and its name from Boan, who has ever since dwelt within its waters as the goddess of the river.

The idols worshipped were generally rude pillars of stone in which spirits were supposed to dwell. There were many such pillars throughout the country, but the chief idol stood in a district now within County Cavan, called the Plain of Adoration. It was called Crom Cruach, and was covered with gold. Near it were twelve similar stones, but of smaller size, supposed by some to represent the signs of the zodiac. Kings and princes came to worship it from all parts of the island.

The exploration of ancient burial grounds shows that the Pagan Irish sometimes disposed of their dead by cremation. This, however, does not seem



FIG. 4.—SEPULCHRAL URN.

(From Wilde's Catalogue, R.I.A.)

to have been very general, for unburned human remains are usually found in places where sepulchral urns (FIG. 4) and calcined bones are also met with.

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The number of cromlechs (FIG. 5), or dolmen, as they are also called, which are found in all parts of the country, shows that this form of tomb was very general. They were usually made by placing one stone of immense size on the top of large upright blocks of unhewn stone. These were formerly thought to be druids' altars, but they are now proved to have been tombs. Large mounds, or tumuli, containing chambers or galleries, were also constructed

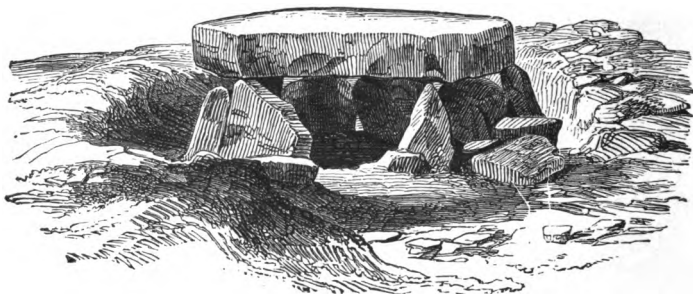


FIG. 5.—CROMLECH IN PHOENIX PARK, DUBLIN.

It contained two skeletons, shell necklace, and Urn.

(From Wilde's Catalogue, R.I.A.)

as places of burial. A great number of cairns or tumuli still exist; those of Knowth, Dowth, and New Grange are the most famous, as probably comprising the royal cemetery of Brugh-na-Boinne.

Peculiarly inscribed memorial stones have been found in connection with places of ancient burial, one

class of which are known as Ogham¹ stones (FIG. 6), from the character of the writing on them; but whether they were originally introduced in Pagan or Christian times is still a subject of controversy.

There seems to have been a vague belief in a future state. They looked forward to a land of pleasure which, under the name Moy Mell, was located in various places, but generally under ground; they were influenced, no doubt, by the belief in the pleasures of the fairy palaces which entered so much into their religion. Thus we see that when Christianity first came into contact with Irish paganism there was nothing in it which might be called a religious system —no common national worship which would have given cohesion to a superstition, however false. There were indefinite and isolated beliefs in powerful gods and local deities, but nothing common to the whole country, save perhaps the worship of the sun, to which the ritual of the yearly bonfire gave form and per-

¹The subjoined Ogham alphabet will give a general idea of their character. The strokes are divided into groups, each group having its own particular meaning, according as it is cut to the right or left, or across a central line :—

— B	— H	— M	— A
== L	== D	== G	== O
=== F	=== T	=== NG	=== U
==== S	==== C	==== ST	==== E
===== N	===== Q = cu	===== Z R	===== I

manence. The minds of the people seemed thus to have been prepared to receive the Gospel more readily than in other countries, when in due time it was presented to them. The contact, too, with British Christianity, as we have seen in the case of Cormac, was gradually leavening the opinions of some, and loosening their hold on nature-worship. It led some, no doubt, to "seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him, though He be not far from every one of us."

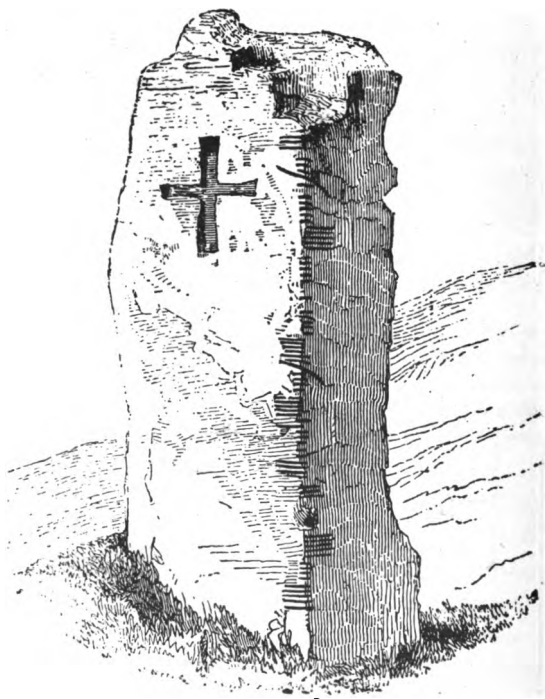


FIG. 6.—OGHAM PILLAR-STONE.

Marking the grave of St. Monachan, at Temple Geal, an uncemented stone oratory, near Dingle, Co. Kerry.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DAWN OF CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND.

THE geographical position of Ireland with respect to Britain would justify the opinion that Christianity must have found its way into Ireland long before the fifth century, even though we had no positive testimony to the fact.

Britain received the Gospel at a very early date, possibly during the lifetime of some of the Apostles. Her Church was fully organized before the end of the third century. At least three of her bishops attended the Council of Arles (314), and some were also present at that of Ariminum (359). So well grounded in the faith were her members, that during Diocletian's persecution many laid down their lives for the truth. St. Alban (303) was the first British martyr. Between the people of Ireland and those of Britain, thus early converted to the faith, there was constant intercourse, friendly and otherwise. Some of the Irish and British kings and chiefs were connected by marriage. Others, like Cormac Mac Art in the third, and Niall of the Nine Hostages in the fourth century, made warlike expeditions into Britain. They returned with much spoil and many captives, some of whom, no doubt, were Christians. Many thousands of Christian slaves must have been carried

into Ireland during the third and fourth centuries. These would make known the Gospel story. It was thus the Iberian barbarians were converted about the same time by Nina, a Christian woman, whom they had taken captive. It was thus, too, the Goths in Moesia were brought to the knowledge of Christianity at a somewhat earlier date. Commercial intercourse between the two countries further tended towards the propagation of the Gospel, and that such intercourse did exist is shown by the number of Roman coins which have frequently been found on the eastern shores of Ireland.

That Christianity had found its way to Ireland before the coming of St. Patrick is not, however, a matter of mere conjecture.

One of the most persistent propagators of the Pelagian¹ heresy was an Irishman named Celestius. He had practised as a lawyer in Rome, but forsook his profession to lead an ascetic life. He expounded his heretical opinions in the most populous centres of Christendom, and so successfully, that for a time Pope Zozimus adopted his views. The Church was greatly disturbed by the spread of Pelagianism, and councils were called to condemn the heresy.

This, no doubt, drew attention to the nationality of Celestius, and induced Pope Celestine, in 431, to consecrate a Briton named Palladius, who was then

¹ So called from its author, Pelagius, whom St. Jerome supposed to be a Scot, i.e., a native of Ireland, though he was probably a Welshman. His erroneous views on the subject of original sin are condemned in our Ninth Article.

at Rome, and send him, as Bede tells us, "to the Scots [i.e., Irish] believing in Christ." Palladius thus seems to have been sent more with a view to suppress Pelagianism than as a missionary to a heathen nation. Within a year after his arrival in Ireland he retired to Britain, where he died.

The *Confession* of St. Patrick is a work now generally accepted as genuine. In that work he says that he "journeyed even to remote places, to which no person had ever come to baptize or ordain clergymen." In this we have an evident recognition of the facts that the Gospel had already been preached in the less remote parts of Ireland, that baptism had been administered, and that clergymen had already been ordained in Ireland.

Thus there is some foundation for the tradition that British Christians had laboured in the South of Ireland from the beginning of the third century, and that there were already a number of bishops in the country when St. Patrick arrived, of whom the names of St. Declan, St. Kieran, and St. Ibar are given. We may therefore believe that there were many Christians scattered throughout the island by the end of the fourth century, and that the leaven of Christianity was gradually making itself felt. To St. Patrick, however, the Apostle of Ireland, belongs the honour of spreading it more widely, and of founding and organizing the National Church of Ireland.

CHAPTER V.

ST. PATRICK.

THE *Book of Armagh*, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, was written more than a thousand years ago. Amongst other records it contains a Life of St. Patrick written in the seventh century, and also a copy of his *Confession*, professedly taken from one written by St. Patrick's own hand. This *Confession*, and a *Letter* written by St. Patrick to Coroticus, a Welsh prince, are generally acknowledged to be authentic. These are the only sources of accurate information which we have in reference to St. Patrick's life. They are entirely free from the legends and fables which have been so freely incorporated into the later Lives of the saint. From his *Hymn* we can of course glean nothing as to the details of his life—though much as to his religious convictions.

From the *Confession* we learn that St. Patrick's father, Calpornius, was a deacon, and his grandfather a priest,¹ named Potitus, whose father, Odissus, was a deacon. It also states that he was born at a place named Benaven, that he was taken captive with many others at the age of sixteen, and sold into slavery to

¹ The celibacy of the clergy was not then enforced.

a chief named Milchu, who lived near the present town of Ballymena, in County Antrim. Here, for about six years, St. Patrick was employed in tending his master's cattle, before he found an opportunity to escape.

As the town of Benaven cannot with certainty be identified, there has been much controversy as to the place of St. Patrick's birth. Some consider it to have been at Boulogne in France, while others maintain that it was near the present town of Dumbarton in Scotland. The latter place is now generally accepted as the more probable one, as it answers all the requirements of the known facts of St. Patrick's life.

The time of his captivity was just when the Roman power in Britain was weakest. At this period the Picts and Scots made frequent incursions into Britain, often aided by the Irish Scots. We have already seen (page 11) that Niall of the Nine Hostages, in whose reign St. Patrick was taken captive, led the Picts in at least one of their raids, and returned with many captives. The County of Antrim, where St. Patrick was sold as a slave, is within easy reach of the Clyde; and it is more likely that a slave taken captive in Dumbarton would be sold into that county than that one captured at Boulogne in France should be brought all the way to Antrim. After his escape and residence for some time with his parents, he is said to have studied under St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, and Germanus; Bishop of Auxerre, in France, from whom he probably received the orders of deacon, priest, and bishop. The only record of his ordination is found

in a very ancient manuscript in the Cotton Library, which states that the "Bishops Germanus and Lupus nurtured him in sacred literature, and ordained him the chief bishop of their school among the British and Irish." Now, this is highly probable—if we accept the generally received date of his mission—for Germanus was very intimately connected with the British Church. He visited it more than once, and may perhaps have been personally known to St. Patrick's father, who was a man of noble birth, and in holy orders. One such visit occurred when the British Church was in trouble and perplexity, owing to the spread of Pelagianism by Agricola (429). The British clergy then turned for aid and sympathy to the Gallic Church. That Church had received its Christianity from the East, and the ritual of the British Church had much in common with the Gallican. The aid asked for was therefore willingly given. A synod of the Gallican Church sent Germanus and Lupus to help the British Church in its struggles against the growing heresy. It has long been a subject of controversy whether St. Patrick was commissioned by Pope Celestine or not. That there is no record of any such commission is acknowledged by all. Had it existed, St. Patrick would most likely have mentioned it in his *Confession*, which was written expressly to defend himself from having presumptuously undertaken the conversion of the Irish. But he never alludes to any such authority. He only stated that he came in obedience to what he believed to be a call from God. The name Rome does not

occur even once in St. Patrick's writings. It is very unlikely that Celestine knew anything of St. Patrick's mission, as the Romans had withdrawn their armies from Britain about twenty years before, and there was then but little intercourse between Rome and Britain. The position of the Pope at the beginning of the fifth century did not at all resemble that to which he afterwards attained. The pretensions put forward by the Roman Pontiff were not then acknowledged by any national Church. In fact, the position occupied by the Bishop of Rome in the early part of the fifth century was not such as would suggest to any Christian in Britain or Gaul that his sanction should be sought for in undertaking a mission like St. Patrick's. Nor in later times did it occur to missionaries from the Church of Ireland to seek his authority when going to Iona or Gaul, or even into Italy itself. We have seen that Pope Celestine sent Palladius to "the Scots believing in Christ." Short and abortive as his mission was, it is mentioned both by Prosper, a friend of Celestine, who wrote the annals of the Church at that time, and also by the Venerable Bede, an ardent supporter of the Roman interests in Britain. Yet neither of these historians even alludes to the long and successful mission of St. Patrick, which, had it originated with Celestine, would have done honour to his name. This silence of the historians shows clearly that the Roman See had nothing whatever to do with St. Patrick's mission. It is a question, however, of but little moment, for even had St. Patrick received his commission from

Rome, as Palladius did, it could in no way compromise the freedom of the Irish Church, or place it under Roman jurisdiction. Were it otherwise, the Church of Rome, and other Churches founded by the Apostles, ought to have been under the jurisdiction of that of Jerusalem, from which the Apostles were first sent on their mission.

The tradition that St. Patrick's two sisters were taken captive with him, and sold into slavery in County Louth, is of very doubtful authority, as are many of the other traditions which are to be found in the later Lives of the saint.

CHAPTER VI.

ST. PATRICK'S MISSIONARY LABOURS.

IN his *Confession* St. Patrick makes only general allusions to his missionary labours. He gives no details of his journeys. For these we have to depend on the traditions preserved in the earlier Lives of the saint. Some of these traditional incidents receive remarkable confirmation, however, in the names of several places throughout the country in which their memory is preserved.

The year 432 is generally accepted as the date on which St. Patrick entered on his missionary work. He landed, with about thirty companions, near where the town of Wicklow now stands. Here also Palladius had landed in the previous year. Desiring probably to revisit, as soon as possible, the place of his captivity, he re-embarked for Ulster. On his way thither he is said to have landed on a small island, named Skerries, off the coast of Dublin, which also bears the name Holmpatrick, in commemoration of the saint. Reaching County Down, he landed at a place near Strangford Lough, in the territory of a chief named Dichu. This chief mistook him and his companions for pirates, and advanced to oppose them ; but when he saw the venerable appearance of St. Patrick, and noticed that his companions were

unarmed, he received them in a very kindly manner. Dichu became his first convert, and with many of his clan received Baptism. He also dedicated to God the ground on which he had first heard the Gospel preached ; there a church was afterwards built called *Sabhall Padhrig*, or Patrick's Barn, probably on the very site of a barn which St. Patrick had temporarily used as a church. To this day there is a parish in this district called Saul—a name which is only the modernized form of the old word *Sabhall*.

Dichu was St. Patrick's first convert and Saul his first church. No wonder, therefore, that these always held an affectionate place in his memory, or that it was to the Abbey of Saul, which he founded, that the old man, worn out with toil, returned to die.

From Saul he revisited the place of his captivity. It is still called Ballyligpatrick, or the town of Patrick's Hollow. His old master, Milchu, died a heathen, but his son, Guasacht, believed, and afterwards became a bishop.

Laeghaire was then monarch of Ireland. St. Patrick determined to make an effort for his conversion, knowing that if the monarch embraced Christianity, the people would be more disposed to listen to its claims. He proceeded therefore to Tara at the time when the kings and nobles were holding the national convention there. The legendary details of the interview given in the later Lives of the saint need not be noticed. The monarch does not himself seem to have become a Christian ; but he did not ultimately oppose the preaching of the Gospel, and St. Patrick

made many converts at his court, notwithstanding the opposition of the Druids. Conall, a brother of the monarch, and uncle of St. Columba, professed Christianity. His territory was in Meath, and there many churches were founded and monasteries established as centres of missionary efforts. Connaught then claimed the presence of the saint, and many gladly listened to his preaching. Grants of land, as in Down, Meath, and other places, were made on which to found monasteries and churches.

After the conversion of Aengus, King of Munster, at Cashel, St. Patrick returned to Ulster. At Armagh he obtained the site of a church from a chieftain named Daire, where about the year 455 he founded a cathedral, which he himself governed for a time, while establishing monasteries and other churches in the province. He died at the Abbey of Saul on 17th March, 492, and was buried where the cathedral of Downpatrick was afterwards erected.

Brief as these outlines of St. Patrick's journeys are, they show the remarkable zeal and energy with which he devoted himself to the task which he believed God had called him to undertake. Almost every district in Ireland seems to have been personally visited by him. The numerous churches which claim him as their founder bear witness to the extent of his labours, and the care with which he attended to their organization.

He is said to have ordained 3,000 priests, and consecrated 365 bishops. This would give an average of eight priests to one bishop. The peculiar

requirements of the country at that time rendered the proportion of bishops to priests and deacons much larger than in later days, when the episcopate became diocesan. To the simplicity of St. Patrick's teaching, and his faithful adherence to God's Word, and deep personal love for Christ, which we learn from his *Confession* and his *Hymn*, may be attributed much of his great success. But the absence of any one predominant form of pagan worship, as well as the division of the people into clans and tribes and petty kingdoms, helped much to render Christianity acceptable to them. St. Patrick recognised the attachment of the clans to their chiefs, and hence his first efforts were generally directed to the conversion of the kings and principal leaders, knowing that their acceptance of the Gospel would recommend it to the favour of their followers. The result amply justified St. Patrick's method, and crowned his efforts with unusual success.

CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESS.

THE death of St. Patrick brought no interruption to the efforts which were being made to win Ireland for Christ. The struggle against Paganism still went on. As the noble band which St. Patrick had gathered round him—Britons and Gauls, as well as Irish—rested from their labours one by one, others took their places. Amidst toils and privations scarcely realized now, they travelled far from their rude monastic homes, to bring the good news of the Gospel to their heathen countrymen and countrywomen.

The Church founded by St. Patrick had life within itself—a means of extending and perpetuating its influence. A native episcopate and priesthood carried on the work in the same spirit of devotion and loyalty to God's Holy Word which so marked St. Patrick's teaching. As a rule, the priesthood was recruited from the families of the chiefs and higher classes. These chiefs often granted, from the territory of their clans, sites and endowments for monasteries, and continued to take an interest in them. Monasteries of the type introduced by St. Patrick were then a necessity. They were not only centres of mission work, but schools of learning, in which the clergy were trained in the Sacred Scriptures. Their multiplication was an

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evidence of the progress of the faith, as well as a means of propagating it. Converts vied with each other in establishing these centres of light. Hence, by the end of the sixth century, Ireland had well-nigh become Christian. For during that century literally hundreds of monasteries were founded, some on a very small scale, others larger. Of these the sites of over one hundred are still pointed out, and the names of many of their founders are known. Some became seats of learning with a world-wide reputation. In these were associated men whose characters for sanctity and purity of life are honoured still in the Church, as when first they won for their country the title of "the Island of Saints." Some devoted their lives and energies to their own country; others brought the light of the Gospel to other lands. It will only be necessary to give the names of a few of the more eminent saints of this age, in connection with the monasteries and schools founded by them in various parts of Ireland, to show how widely the Church had at this time extended her work at home.

St. Finnian, noted for his proficiency in Holy Scripture, founded the monastery of Clonard, in County Meath, justly famed as a seat of learning, where many of the most celebrated teachers in Ireland were educated. Another saint of the same name founded the abbey at Moville, County Donegal. St. Brendan founded the monastery of Clonfert, in which there are said to have been over 3,000 monks. He was one of the most celebrated of Irish saints. The legend of his voyage over the Atlantic in his

skin-covered wicker-boat early found its way to the Continent of Europe, and gained for him the name of "the Navigator." The monastery of Birr, in King's County, was founded by a second St. Brendan.

St. Kieran founded the Abbey of Clonmacnoise, also in King's County, and St. Jarlath that of Tuam. Glendalough, in Wicklow, was founded by St. Kevin. He retired for a time from his monastery to lead a hermit's life in the adjacent woods ; and legend, in trying to show his gentleness and love of birds, seems to exaggerate a little in asserting that a blackbird laid her eggs in his hand, and hatched them there.

The Abbey of Aghaboe, in Queen's County, was founded by St. Canice, from whom the cathedral and city of Kilkenny take their name. To St. Comgall was due the great monastery at Bangor, in County Down, to whose school so many flocked from various lands. St. Aedan, commonly called St. Mogue, founded the See of Ferns ; and in 635 his contemporary, St. Aidan, of Iona, was converting the Northumbrian Saxons.

St. Ruadan of Lorrha, in County Tipperary, is remarkable as the immediate cause of the overthrow of Tara as the residence of the Irish monarchs, towards the end of the sixth century. King Diarmid, in his efforts to reduce the power of the sub-kings, seized one who had taken refuge in the Abbey of Lorrha. The abbots generally resented what they considered a breach of the rights of sanctuary, which they claimed for their monasteries. And as Diarmid refused to give up his prisoner, Ruadan and his monks walked

Ireland. Though legend and fiction have been largely used by her different biographers, yet there is a general agreement as to the main facts of her life ; and her history is otherwise interesting as presenting us with a picture of those far-off times.

Her father seems to have been a man of considerable property in County Meath, and, at least nominally, a Christian ; her mother was one of his slaves. Hagar-like, the slave was sent away, or rather sold into the family of a Druid at Faugher, near Dundalk. Here St. Brigid was born. At an early age her father brought her to his own house, where she proved diligent in tending his swine, and discharging household duties, but after a time returned to her mother, whom she cheered and aided in the drudgery of her work. Instrumental in the conversion of the Druid and his family, she received as a reward the freedom of her mother, with whom she returned to her father in Meath. Her great love for the poor, and her amiable disposition, endeared her to all. But her father highly disapproved of her giving away so much of his property in charity. He therefore brought her to the King of Leinster, who lived at Naas, in order that he might sell her to him, for by the Brehon laws she was his slave. The king refused to purchase her, but obtained her freedom. It was at this period probably that she formed the idea of devoting herself wholly to the work of spreading the Gospel amongst those who were still heathens. A few like-minded Christian women joined her, and they built their humble cell of wattles beside

the sacred oak at Kildare,¹ near the site of which the present cathedral stands.

The convent thus begun was destined to become one of the most celebrated in Ireland. Many had already sought her in marriage ; but it is said that, at her earnest prayer to God, she became for a time so deformed that she escaped further importunity. Her single-minded devotion, her love of God, and the earnestness with which she laboured amongst the pagans around, soon gained for her such a reputation that many joined her community. Thus she became the foundress of the first convent for women in Ireland.

The necessity for episcopal oversight, as in other monasteries, was apparent. In those for men the abbot was himself sometimes a bishop, or a bishop was one of the regular community. St. Brigid therefore obtained the consecration of a neighbouring hermit named Conlath, to whom was entrusted the discharge of episcopal functions within the nunnery. This is the first authentic instance of an Irish monastic bishop. In his episcopal and priestly character only was he superior to the abbess ; but in other respects he was subject to her control. The unselfish life of St. Brigid, and her devotion to the needs of the poor, as well as her strength of character, in devising and carrying out successfully a new monastic experiment, which elevated the position of women, and enabled them publicly to devote their lives to the glory of God in a way

¹ From *Cill-dara*, i.e., "the church of the oak."

which hitherto men only had undertaken, would have entitled her to a lasting place in the memory of the Irish people. Yet there were other circumstances also which contributed to place her in the position of affectionate reverence which she enjoyed. Pagan ideas and modes of thought linger long, even with many who have accepted Christian truth. St. Brigid bore the name of the goddess Brigid, and the loss of the female deity would increase the veneration for one whom they almost accepted as a substitute. In later times her character for sanctity was designedly exalted by the Church, jealous of its independence, in opposition to the cult of the Blessed Virgin, which a rival Church pressed upon its acceptance. The reverence for St. Brigid was almost universal over Ireland. This is seen from the number of churches called Kilbride, which in widely different parts were dedicated to her. As a rule all the early churches in Ireland were dedicated to native saints, who were generally the original founders.

CHAPTER VIII.

ST. COLUMBA.

THE prominent position which missionary work amongst the heathen now occupies in the Church of Ireland is a sure evidence of spiritual vitality. It was not less so from the sixth to the eighth century, when missionaries from the Irish Church went forth to pagan lands. The Picts of Scotland and the Western Isles, the Saxons of Northumbria, as well as many barbarous tribes in Germany, Switzerland, and Northern Italy, were indebted to Irish missionaries for their earliest knowledge of Christian truth. A brief account of the lives of a few of these missionaries must suffice to illustrate the mode in which the Church of Ireland carried on her missionary work abroad during the sixth century, when as yet much remained to be done at home.

St. Columba, or St. Columkille, as he was also called, was born in 521, at Gartán in Donegal. He was descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages, the great monarch of Ireland, in whose days St. Patrick was taken captive. Connected therefore with the reigning families both in Ireland and in Scotch Dalriada, he was enabled to enlist their

sympathies and co-operation in his efforts to spread the knowledge of Christ in both countries.

The chief incidents of his life are well known. His biographer, Adamnan, was not only his relative, but also one of his successors in Iona, less than a century after his death. His life may be divided into two distinct parts, of which the first forty years were spent in Ireland, and the remaining thirty-six devoted to Christianizing the Picts of Scotland.

He was educated at the famous Monastery of Clonard, near Trim, and had also studied at Moville and other schools. At Clonard he became proficient in the art of copying and illuminating manuscripts—an occupation in which he took great delight. The monasteries founded by him and those which adopted his monastic rule, were celebrated for the care with which they multiplied copies of the Sacred Scriptures. He founded a church in Derry on a site granted by a relative, who afterwards became King of Ireland. The once famous monastery at Durrow, in King's County, was also founded by him, as were many others of lesser note throughout the country, including those of Kells, in Meath, and Swords, in County Dublin.

The site of the Monastery of Kells was granted to him by the king ; up to that time it had been a royal residence. [FIG 8.]

The circumstances under which St. Columba was led to transfer his energies and missionary zeal from Ireland to the land of the pagan Picts, have been variously described. No doubt, the presence of his

countrymen in that land, and their continual contests with their northern neighbours, first drew his attention to the Picts, and awakened a desire for their conversion. The occasion of his undertaking the work is, however, thus described by some of his biographers.

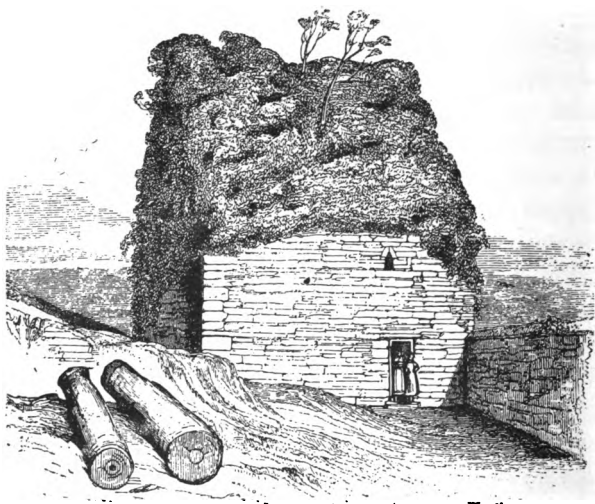


FIG. 8.—ST. COLUMBA'S HOUSE, KELLS.

The lower portion is an oratory, with arched stone roof, between which and the slanting stone roof is a space 6 feet high and 16 feet long, divided into three apartments. There are other instances of combined oratories and dwellings—e.g., St. Kevin's, at Glendalough; St. Molaise's, on Devenish Island; and St. Declan's, at Ardmore.

He had visited St. Finnian at Moville, and borrowed from him a Latin Psalter, which he copied. St. Finnian was very wroth that a copy should have been made without his sanction, and he demanded that the copy should be given to him. But St. Columba refused to give it, urging that as he had made it, it belonged to him. The dispute was brought before King Diarmait, who decided against St. Columba, remarking that "to every cow belonged its calf, so likewise to every book its copy."¹

Enraged at what he considered the injustice of the decision, St. Columba roused the spirit of jealousy which generally existed between the northern and southern branches of the Hy Niell, in order to avenge the wrong. His tribesmen made his quarrel their own. These, aided by the King of Connaught, attacked King Diarmait, and defeated his army with great slaughter at the battle of Cooldrevna, near Sligo.

To atone in some measure for the scandal thus caused to religion, which had resulted in the death of so many, his friend, St. Molaise, Abbot of Inismurray, advised him to "spend the rest of his life an exile on a foreign soil, where he should attach more persons to Christ than had fallen in the war." St. Columba penitently replied, "It shall be done."

This story is not in itself improbable. But neither Bede nor Adamnan mentions it. The latter, however, does speak of an ecclesiastical censure passed on

¹ This book is said to be still in existence. It is identified with the Cathach of St. Columba, which is in the Royal Irish Academy.

St. Columba ; and Bede gives the date of his departure from Ireland as two years after the battle of Cooldrevna¹—a battle which is a matter of history.

To attempt to convert the Picts was an undertaking full of difficulty and danger. In St. Columba the special qualifications necessary to carry the work to a successful issue were pre-eminently present—zeal and energy, courage and foresight, high social position and a sound judgment, reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and a deep personal love for the Saviour.

If St. Patrick, a native of Scotland, brought the Gospel to a pagan Ireland, it was a fitting return that St. Columba, a native of Ireland, should bring it back to pagan Scotland. The method adopted by St. Columba was similar to that which St. Patrick had so successfully employed. As a basis for his missionary efforts he obtained from his kinsman, the King of the Scotch Dalriada, a grant of the small island of Iona, on the west coast of Scotland. Here he built his monastery on the same plan as those in Ireland. With twelve companions and a number of other assistants, he spent two years in learning the language, cultivating the ground, and influencing those within reach. Then he undertook more distant and dangerous journeys. He visited Brude, King of

¹ In one of the poems attributed to St. Columba which have come down to us, he alludes to this battle in the following lines, as translated by Dr. Douglas Hyde :—

“ Alas for the voyage, O high King of Heaven,
Enjoined upon me,
For that I on the red plain of bloody Cooldrevin
Was present to see.”

the Picts, in his palace at Inverness, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Druids, succeeded in converting him. Many of the clansmen followed the example of their king, and the Pictish nation gradually accepted the faith of Christ.

For six and thirty years St. Columba laboured among the Picts of the Highlands and the Hebrides, and by his success has justly gained the title of the "Apostle of the Highlands and Western Isles." He continued to take great interest in the land of his birth, and frequently visited it again.

The privileges of the Bards were so great, that nearly one third of the population of Ireland was said to have been enrolled in their order at the close of the sixth century. Their insolence and exactions were such that the kings and nobles determined on their suppression at the great Synod of Drumceat. St. Columba, who was himself a poet, was present and interceded for them. He saved the order from total extinction. Their number was reduced; kings and nobles were permitted to retain one each, to record the exploits and preserve the genealogies of their families. A competent maintenance was granted to them, and they were each required to educate a number of youths in history, poetry, and antiquities. St. Columba returned to Iona, but the end of his labours was drawing nigh. His love for his native land seemed to grow even stronger as years rolled on. One incident may be mentioned as an illustration. He saw a heron light on the coast of Iona, faint and exhausted with its long

flight across the water. It seemed to have come from the direction of Ireland. He sent one of his monks to care and feed the bird, "because," said he weeping, "it has come from the land I shall never see on earth again." Even when the end was near, he did not cease to pursue his favourite occupation of copying the Scriptures. The story of his death is full of interest. He was transcribing a psalter, and eager to finish it. He had got as far as Ps. xxxiv. 10, and had written, "But they who seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good," when his strength gave way, and closing the book he said, "I must stop ; what comes after let Baithene write." St. Columba thus indicated his wish that Baithene should be his successor. Then he went to rest. The midnight bell rang its call to prayer. He rose from his bare stone bed, and, followed by Dermot, his attendant, made his way to the little church. He was the first to arrive. Dark as it was, he got to the altar, and when the monks came in with lights, they found him prostrate in prayer. Gently they raised the dying saint. He was too weak to speak, but tried to lift his feeble hand to bless them, and, in the act of blessing, his spirit passed to God.

Thus died on 9th June, 597, the first great missionary son of the Church of Ireland.

Iona continued to be a centre of light and Christian activity. From thence Irish missionaries still went forth to labour amongst the Picts, and strengthen the infant Church they had founded among them. To Iona was also due the honour of establishing

Christianity in Mercia and Northumbria. Both these vast territories had lapsed into paganism. Oswald came to the throne of Northumbria about thirty-five years after the death of St. Columba, and as he was a Christian, and with his brothers had lived in exile amongst the Picts, he turned to Iona for Christian teachers for his heathen subjects.

St. Aidan was consecrated a bishop, and with attendant monks was sent to undertake the work. He established a monastery at Lindisfarne similar to that at Iona, from which as a centre the whole north of England was evangelized. Bede bears willing testimony to his gentle disposition, love of Holy Scripture, and successful work, though regretting that he adhered to the customs of the Irish Church. His successor, St. Finan, also from Iona, penetrated into Mercia, and established churches there for the first time. He was succeeded by St. Colman, who resigned his See rather than accept the decision of the Synod of Whitby (664), which established the Roman customs as to Baptism, the tonsure, and the mode of keeping Easter.

For thirty years Irish missionaries laboured with success amongst the pagans of Northumbria and Mercia, and to them the northern part of England is indebted for its first knowledge of the Christian faith.

CHAPTER IX.

ST. COLUMBANUS.

THE success of St. Columba's mission to the Picts naturally prompted others to follow his example. The monastery of Bangor, in County Down, had already become famous. Its abbot and founder, St. Comgall, was a friend and companion of St. Columba. He had for a time worked with him amongst the Picts as, no doubt, had others from the same monastery. Iona was not far distant. A strong missionary spirit was aroused amongst the students at Bangor, a number of whom, headed by St. Columbanus, begged the abbot's permission to leave their country, and carry the Gospel message to other lands. They were his most learned and valued monks, and St. Comgall gave but a reluctant consent. Central Europe was selected as their field of labour. When they were ready to depart, a solemn meeting of their college was held to say farewell, to ask God's blessing on their work, and to bid them God-speed in their dangerous undertaking—a meeting in character and in spirit not unlike that held a few years since in our Dublin University, when five of her bravest and best students went forth to the heathen in Chhota Nagpur.

Gaul in 585 was still a Christian country, but—owing to the inroads of pagan tribes and the careless lives of the Christian priests—it was Christian only in name. The Church of Gaul had once been famed for the purity of its faith. Clovis, the great founder of the French monarchy, was the only European prince who withstood the Arian heresy. But he passed away in the beginning of the sixth century, and his kingdom had fallen to pieces. His grandson, Gontram, was king of that portion of it which included Burgundy, Switzerland, and Savoy. From him St. Columbanus obtained the ruined fortress of Annegray in the deserts of the Vosges. This old Roman fortress became the first Irish monastery ever founded on the Continent. Here the quiet life of his community—labouring in the field to raise food for their simple needs—teaching those around them—setting examples of patient industry and practical religion—soon began to influence the inhabitants of this wild district. The fame of the Irish monks spread far and wide; princes and nobles besought instruction for their children; crowds came to hear the Gospel truths, and learn the secret of such holy lives. To meet their needs, branch monasteries were founded in the neighbourhood, at Luxeuil and Fontaines. The work continued to prosper for twenty years, in spite of difficulties and opposition. St. Columbanus, like St. Columba, dearly loved the land of his birth. The Irish rites, the Irish tonsure, the Irish mode of keeping Easter, were all scrupulously observed. No bishop of the Roman communion was.

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permitted any jurisdiction within his communities. Hence the unceasing hostility of the French bishops, who had adopted the Roman rule. But not only were the French bishops unfriendly, but his honesty and faithfulness in rebuking sin brought on him the wrath of the royal household, and ultimately resulted in his expulsion from the country. The ship in which he and his monks were being conveyed to Ireland ran aground. The sailors attributed this misfortune to the presence of St. Columbanus and his monks, so they landed them again on the French coast. From thence they made their way to Switzerland, and for a time settled near Lake Constance. Here their privations were very great. Driven from place to place by the wild pagan tribes, with difficulty they sustained life with berries from the wood and fish from the lake. Yet even here God blessed their work. The monastery of St. Gall, a companion of St. Columbanus, exists to the present day. The town and canton of St. Gall—still called by his name—bear eloquent testimony to the labours of those saints of the Irish Church, who nearly 1,300 years ago first preached the Gospel in that heathen district.

Once more the Irish missionaries sought new fields of labour. They crossed the Alps into Northern Italy, where they were kindly received by the King of the Lombards, who granted them the old church of Bobbio. This they soon repaired, and attached a monastery to it, which became the centre of missionary effort amongst the Arians and pagans in the province. This memorial of the Irish missionary zeal

of the sixth and seventh centuries continued down to the present century. Here St. Columbanus was laid to rest—a laborious, faithful servant of Christ—an honour to his Church and his country—fearless in his denunciation of sin, and patient in preaching the Gospel of Christ. To him and to his companions and successors the Continent of Europe owed much in those days, and even still Germany, Burgundy, Switzerland, and Italy bear traces of their missionary zeal.

Amongst many others who laboured on the Continent may be noticed St. Kilian, the Apostle of Franconia, who is still revered as the patron saint of Wurtzburg, where he and his Irish monks were cruelly murdered in the latter part of the seventh century. In the following century the efforts of the celebrated Virgilius gained for him the title of the Apostle of Carinthia, which country he was instrumental in converting to Christianity while abbot of the monastery of Salzburg in Bavaria, of which city he was afterwards bishop.

The Irish custom of establishing branch monasteries, in connection with the principal foundation, and under the jurisdiction of its abbot, was adopted by St. Columbanus, and tended much to systematize monastic effort in the following century, and extend its influence over a wider territory. The rule of St. Columbanus, for the uniform government of such monasteries, is still extant. The missionary zeal of the Irish Church continued in the following century. A constant intercourse was maintained

between the Irish establishments at home and abroad, and the supply of zealous missionaries was unceasing. These brought many priceless Irish manuscripts with them to their new homes, some of which still exist in the Library of St. Gall and other places. The Antiphonary of Bangor, a work of the seventh century, now at Milan, was treasured in the monastery of Bobbio till its dissolution.

CHAPTER X.

MONASTICISM.

MONASTICISM has exercised such an important influence on the religious life of Christian countries that it may be well, however briefly, to trace its origin and development during the first few centuries of its existence. It did not originate in the Christian Church, but was the natural outcome of that ascetic spirit which we so often meet with in eastern religions.

The great honour paid to the martyrs also tended to foster the idea that mere suffering and sanctity were intimately connected. Hence many courted persecution and death, until the Church refused the honour of martyrdom to those who sought it in this way. Yet the idea of sanctity continued, in the minds of many, to be so associated with mere suffering and self-denial, that early in the second century many gave up much that for an ordinary Christian was considered lawful and right, and sought to attain a higher spiritual life by a rigorous austerity. They did not, however, at first withdraw from all social intercourse with their fellow-Christians, though living a life of comparative seclusion at home. In times of persecution many withdrew to the deserts ;

but the first who is said to have voluntarily undertaken the life of a hermit was an Alexandrian named Paul, who, about the middle of the third century, withdrew to the desert of the Egyptian Thebaid. The name "hermit" was given to anyone who led a solitary life, whether he wandered in the desert without a fixed abode, or dwelt in a cave or cell; though the term "anchorite" was sometimes used to indicate the latter.

A monastery originally meant only the cell of a solitary hermit. The word, however, soon came to be used in the sense in which we now generally employ it.

The fame for sanctity which such solitaries as Paul and Simon Stylites (who lived for many years on a pillar), or St. Anthony, obtained, induced others to follow their example. Some occupied separate cells, as in Syria; or two lived together, as in Lower Egypt, though a cell in the Thebaid might contain three. Such a cluster of cells, where the monks were not subject to any general rule of life—save that which each imposed on himself—was called a *laura*. The necessity of uniting all the monks in a *laura*, in an association or community under the same rules, soon became apparent. This coenobitic system, as it was called, originated early in the fourth century, and spread so quickly in the east, that by the end of that century it included 50,000 monks. There were no monastic institutions in the Roman Church before the middle of the fourth century; but they rapidly spread then under the influence of St. Jerome, who

also formed communities of nuns. In the Gallican Church the eastern monastic system—hermit and coenobitic—was introduced about the same time. One of the most famous of the Gallican monasteries was that of St. Martin, at Tours, which numbered 2,000 monks. With this monastery St. Patrick was well acquainted. From Gaul monasticism spread into Britain and Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries. A special form of dress¹ with girdle seems to have been very early adopted by the monks, in imitation of their prototype, Elijah, or John the Baptist, who “had his raiment of camel’s hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins.” The eastern anchorites wore only a sheepskin; in the west a cloak or gown, with cap or hood, was usually worn night and day.

The hair was also cut, as a token of submission to authority, and a visible sign of separation from the ordinary citizen. Even the nuns shaved their heads in St. Jerome’s time; but this custom for women was but short-lived. Not, probably, before the latter part of the sixth century did the mode of shaving the head—the tonsure, as it was called—take a definite form in the west for both monks and secular clergy. The Roman tonsure was formed by shaving the

¹ The clergy do not seem to have adopted a form of dress distinct from the ordinary citizen till about the sixth century, when they were forbidden to wear the secular dress. The difference in dress seems to have arisen in the west from the conservatism of the clergy, who continued to wear the long tunic and cloak of the Romans, while the laity gradually adopted the short coat and dress of their northern conquerors.

crown of the head, and leaving a fringe or circle of hair around it. The Irish and British was formed by shaving the forepart of the head, from a line drawn over the top of the head from ear to ear. The Irish was called the Tonsure of St. John, the Roman that of St. Peter. The difference of tonsure¹ became a subject of bitter strife between the Roman and Irish Churches for centuries.

The monks were originally laymen. The primary idea was the advancement of the spiritual life of the individual. Not until a later period did the thought occur of influencing the outer world by exhibiting to it a practical example of the highest Christian life. It was only in the ninth century that abbots were required to be in priest's orders. Till then the official duties of the priest were discharged in the monastery either by a resident priest or by a monk specially ordained for the purpose.

With the monastic system of Britain and Gaul St. Patrick was very familiar. But the conditions under which he established his monasteries in a pagan land were very different from those under which they had been founded in Christian countries. There the advancement of the monk in personal holiness was generally the only consideration ; here the instruction

¹It is remarkable that there are no signs of any tonsure in the figures represented in the ancient Irish illuminated manuscripts, where many of the men are depicted with long hair. The custom of the tonsure does not, therefore, seem to have been universal in Ireland, notwithstanding the bitterness of the controversy.

The Greek tonsure, which was total, is known as that of St. Paul.

of the surrounding paganism was also a primary object. Hence the prevailing monastic system was greatly modified on its introduction into Ireland by St. Patrick. The early monasteries in Ireland partook somewhat of the character of a college of canons, or a cathedral chapter responsible for missionary work and priestly functions in the surrounding districts. They were centres of light and civilization amidst the prevailing darkness of paganism. Some of them became cathedrals; others developed into monastic institutions, more closely resembling the British and Gallic models.

The endowments of the monasteries at first generally consisted of land granted by the king or chieftain of the district. These often exercised a kind of spiritual as well as temporal authority over them, and in some cases the office of abbot became hereditary in the family of the founder. Usually, however, the abbot was elected by the monks, and in Ireland and Scotland was spoken of as the Co-Arb of the founder.

Each monastery was as a rule complete in itself. The monks cultivated their land, and attended to all the general needs of the community. Those who possessed skill in art or handicraft exercised their calling for the good of all. Before the art of printing was known the monastic scribes were invaluable for multiplying copies of books, and especially of the sacred Scriptures—an occupation in which many monks took intense delight. Some of the manuscripts which have come down to us show exquisite

skill in the art of penmanship and illumination—as, for example, *The Book of Kells*¹ (FIG. 9), *The Book of Armagh*, *The Book of Durrow*² (FIG. 10), all of which are in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

¹ *The Book of Kells* is so called from the Monastery of Kells in County Meath, where it was preserved and probably written. There is nothing in it to indicate its date, but it is generally supposed to belong to the eighth century. It is a copy of the Gospels from the text of the Vulgate, with some additions and modifications from the old Latin. No country or age has ever produced anything to equal this manuscript for the exquisite harmony of its colouring, the freedom and intricacy of its designs, or the marvellous skill with which every detail has been executed. The first letter of every sentence is a work of art. Every page is ornamented, and many consist wholly of ornamented designs, chiefly formed by the interlacing of bands and serpents in endless variety. The accompanying illustration (FIG. 9), reduced from a monogram on one of its pages, gives some idea of the character of its ornamentation. The beauty of the illuminations, however, can only be realized by an inspection of the manuscript itself, which Giraldus Cambrensis considered to be “the work rather of angelic than of human skill.”

² *The Book of Durrow* is so called from the Monastery of Durrow in King's County, founded by St. Columba. It is a manuscript of the Gospels from the text of the Vulgate; and was written probably about the seventh century, and perhaps copied from one written by St. Columba himself, who was a great scribe, and is said to have written 300 copies of the Gospels with his own hand, and to have given a copy to each of his churches. There is but little ornamentation in *The Book of Durrow* besides the letters of the first words of each Gospel; but before each Gospel there is a page of interlaced work, and also a page with the symbol of the Evangelist. The illustration (FIG. 10) is reduced from a photograph of the first page of St. Mark's Gospel, the negative of which was kindly lent to me by the Rev. T. K. Abbott, S.F.T.C.D., the Librarian.

In England, as in Ireland, there was a superstition that these old Celtic manuscripts possessed the property of curing the diseases of those who drank the water in which one of them had been placed. It is

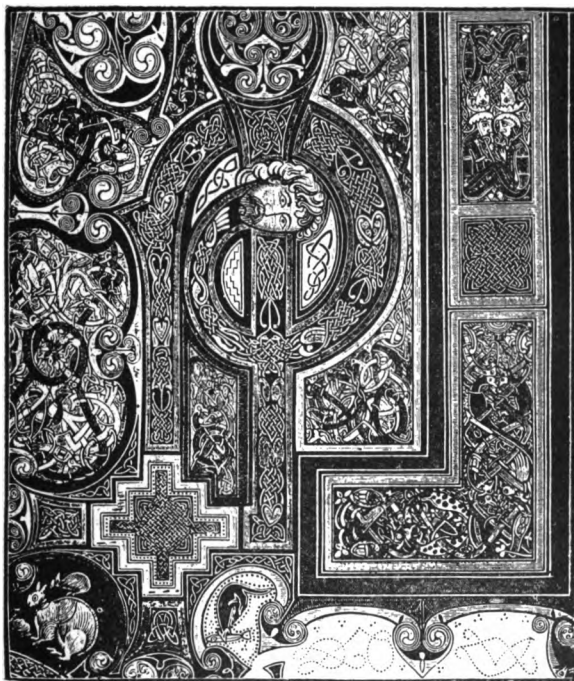


FIG. 9.—THE BOOK OF KELLS.

Portion of illuminated monogram. Reduced from Miss Stokes's
Early Christian Art in Ireland.

recorded of this *Book of Durrow*, that one of its custodians, "when sickness came upon cattle, for their Remedi putt water on the booke, and suffered it to rest there a while, and saw alsoe the cattle returne thereby to their former or pristinate, and the booke to receave noe loss."

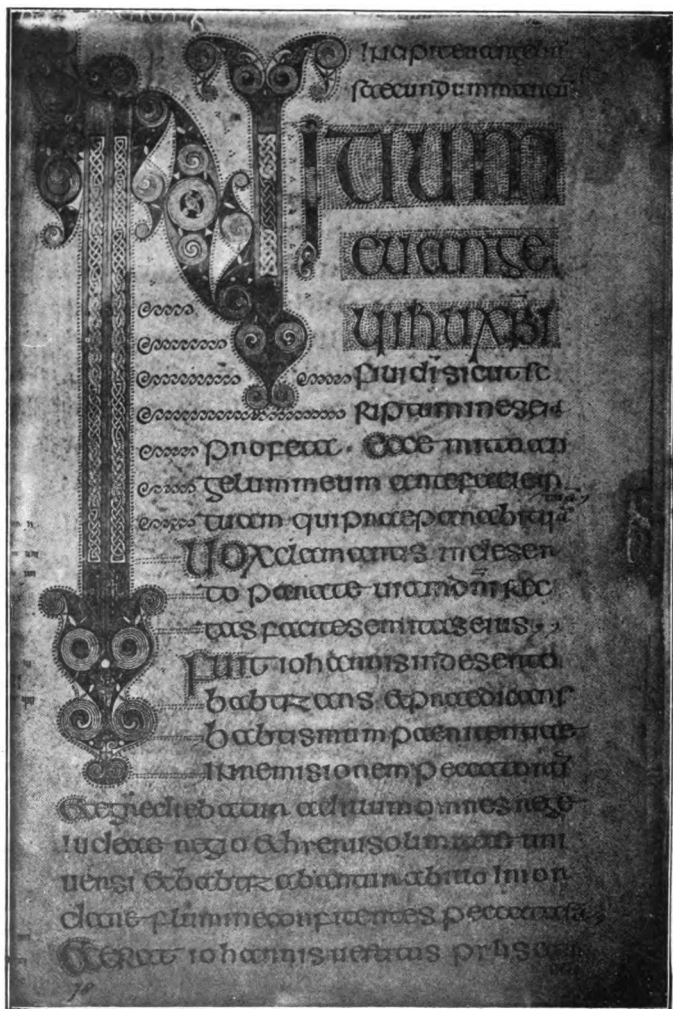


FIG. 10. THE FIRST PAGE OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL FROM THE
BOOK OF DURROW.

"Initium evangeliu $\chi\beta\iota$ " (*sic*).

The manuscripts were preserved in leather cases or satchels, which were suspended by straps from hooks in the walls of the monastic libraries. Great care was taken of the manuscripts, which were only given out on certain days and at fixed hours to such monks as desired to use them.

Only about five or six of these ancient leather cases are known to exist at present, and but two of them are in Ireland. The leather satchel¹ of *The Book of Armagh* is in the Library of Trinity College, a photograph of which is reproduced in the annexed illustration (FIG. 11).



FIG. 11.—SACHEL OF THE BOOK OF ARMAGH.

Reduced from *The Book of Trinity College*.

¹ This satchel is formed of a single piece of leather, beautifully embossed with figures of animals and interlaced work. Eight brass loops are attached to the case; these pass through slits in the flap, and two rods running through them are secured in the centre by a lock. The case is 12 inches high, $12\frac{3}{4}$ broad, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ wide.

Manuscripts reputed to have belonged to the early saints were greatly valued, and in later times were seldom used, but were enclosed in metal cumdachs¹ or shrines (Fig. 12), and carefully preserved.

The affectionate labour and skill and care lavished by the early monks on the production and preserva-

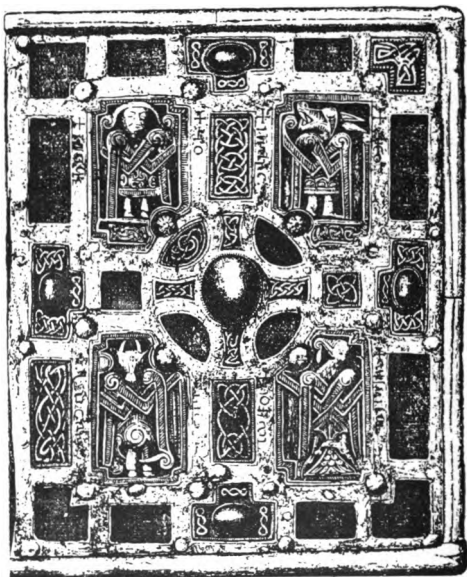


FIG. 12.—CUMDACH OF ST. MOLAISE'S GOSPELS.
Reduced from Miss Stokes's *Early Christian Art in Ireland*.

¹ The cumdach of St. Molaise's Gospels in the National Museum is supposed to be the oldest book shrine in existence, having been made during the abbacy of Cennfailad (1001-1025), as the inscription on the box indicates. It is formed of bronze plates, to which the ornamental portions, consisting of gilt patterns on plates of silver, are riveted, as are also the symbols of the four Evangelists.

tion of manuscript copies of the Holy Scriptures, as shown in those specimens which have come down to us, are a lasting testimony to the reverence with which the ancient Irish Church regarded the Word of God, and clearly indicate the Scriptural character of her teaching. In later times, when the Church was becoming less zealous for God's Word, the manuscripts were of a much inferior description, and were written with less skill and care.

The monasteries of Bangor, Clonard, Lismore, Armagh, and some others became great educational centres.

Monasteries of a different type were also very common in Ireland from about the sixth century. Men who desired to give themselves more to a life of contemplation and stricter asceticism sought the solitude of the desert,¹ the wood, or the lonely island. The remains of such monasteries—clusters of single cells round a little oratory or church—are still to be seen in many of the smaller islands around the coasts of Ireland. Such were the Monasteries of St. Molaise, on Inismurry, off the coast of Sligo ; St. Finan, in Lough Lee, in Kerry ; St. Fechin and St. MacDara, off the coast of Galway ; and many others.

At a later period, in connection with some of the larger churches and monasteries, as at Kilkenny and at Cashel, there were special cells and provision for

¹ The word "desert" or "disert" in this connection means only the lonely dwelling-place of a hermit, who generally gave his name to the place, as Desertmartin, near Londonderry—i.e., "the hermitage of Martin;" Dysartenos in Queen's County—i.e., "the lonely cell, or hermitage, of St. Aengus."

those who desired to live the more solitary life of the anchorite after the Eastern type.

The primitive Church of Ireland was essentially monastic as well as episcopal in character. Its organization was perfectly independent and distinct from that of any other Church. Its bishops were monastic and tribal rather than diocesan, though in later times the dioceses often coincided with the tribal territories. Every large monastery had its bishops and clergy, as well as the cathedral centres ; and other bishops were sometimes attached to the clans. Hence the comparatively large number of bishops in the primitive Church of Ireland as compared with those of other countries where the Roman system of diocesan bishops prevailed. It was not till it lost its independence in the twelfth century that the diocesan organization of the Church was fully established in conformity with that of Rome.

A monastic bishop was superior to his abbot only in spiritual functions ; in other respects he was subject to his jurisdiction. In the British and Irish monasteries the abbot was himself, in early times, frequently a bishop—indeed, so frequently, that with some the terms seem to have been used without distinction, the Pope being called “Abbot of Rome.” Where diocesan bishops were established in Ireland, monastic and other bishops discharged the duties of their episcopal office only as chorepiscopi, or as a kind of assistant bishops—an office which we find under various circumstances in both the Eastern and Western Churches.

CHAPTER XI.

IRISH SCHOOLS IN THE OLDEN TIME.

THE Church of Ireland from the sixth to the eighth century was justly famed for her learning and piety. Her schools far surpassed those of other Churches, not only in their reverence for and method of interpreting the Holy Scriptures, but also in their wider range of secular learning. Their system resembled more nearly the Eastern than the Western type.

When the barbarian tribes overran the empire, and destroyed the imperial schools, education in Gaul and Italy practically ceased. In the episcopal and cathedral schools alone could even a limited secular education be obtained, and as these were entirely under the control of the clergy, the pagan classics were excluded. Gregory the Great, who was no patron of learning, forbade the bishops to read heathen authors, and censured the study of pagan literature as unbecoming even in a pious layman.

In the monastic schools of Ireland a more liberal conception of the requirements of a true education generally prevailed. Greek and Latin literature were not proscribed. Logic and rhetoric were carefully taught. Geographical, philosophical, and astrono-

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mical text-books were used, some of which were condemned by most of the Latin clergy: such was that of Martianus Capella, which taught that the earth was round, and that the stars revolved round the sun. As Ireland was untouched by the barbarian invasion, education continued to flourish within her shores, and the fame of the Irish schools attracted scholars from all lands. Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, at the end of the seventh century, asks, in a somewhat jealous spirit: "Why should Ireland, whither students are transported in troops by fleets, be exalted, . . . as if here in the rich soil of England there could not be found any Grecian or Latin teachers to expound by their interpretations the dark problems of the celestial library?"

Some of the great schools—Clonard, Bangor, Clonmacnoise, Lismore, Armagh—have already been alluded to. It is only necessary to refer to a few of those who were educated in the Irish schools in proof of the extent of the education given in them in those early times.

There is in the monastery of St. Gall a work written by Aileran, Abbot of Clonard (660), which shows an extensive acquaintance with Hebrew and Greek. The celebrated Irish layman John Scotus Erigena was perfectly familiar with Greek, and was the only one at the Court of Charles the Bald in France who could translate a book written in that language. He also wrote a philosophical treatise in opposition to the speculations by which Paschasius Radbert was seeking to advance the cause of transubstantiation,

which was not then a doctrine of the Roman Church. St. Columbanus was well acquainted with Greek, and as a recreation amidst his life of toil was accustomed to write Latin verse. St. Cummin's letter, giving his reasons for adopting the Roman mode of calculating the time of Easter, not only shows an acquaintance with ecclesiastical history and astronomy, but takes for granted a similar knowledge on the part of his brethren.

St. Virgilius or Virgil, Bishop of Salzburch, was persecuted by St. Boniface, and denounced by Pope Zachary, because his knowledge of geography and



FIG. 13.—SCRIBE WRITING THE KILDARE GOSPELS.

From illuminated MS. of Giraldus Cambrensis. (Reproduced from Wilde's Catalogue, R.I.A.) The jacket is represented as greenish-brown, and the trousers a light colour.

astronomy, gained in the Irish schools, led him to assert that the earth was round. A work on geography by a monk named MacCosse, written for his school at Rosscarbery, and one by Dicuil, a

pupil of Clonmacnoise, show how carefully that subject was taught.

Thus we see that the education given in the Irish schools over 1,000 years ago was remarkable for its liberality, and by no means confined to the official requirements of the clergy. Nor was technical education neglected. The office of scribe [FIG. 13], for the multiplication of books before the art of

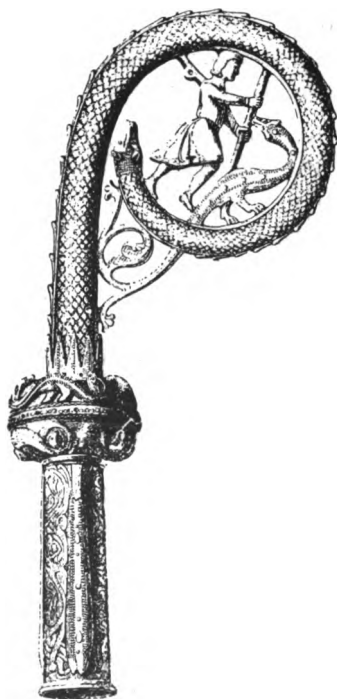


FIG. 14.—PORTION OF A CROZIER.
From Petrie's *Round Towers*.

printing was known, was naturally an honourable one, as, indeed, was that of those who excelled in other arts.¹ Beautiful specimens of metal-work in gold and silver—bells, croziers [FIG. 14], and shrines—have come down to our own day, and still stand unrivalled, a proof of the skill acquired in the Irish schools.

To show how widely the influence of the Irish schools extended, it is only necessary to mention a few of the more celebrated of those who came “in troops by fleets” to study in them. These include Oswald and Alfrid, Kings of Northumbria; St. David, the founder of the Welsh See which bears his name; Gildas, the British historian, who taught as an assistant in Armagh; Alcuin, Archbishop of York, the tutor of Charlemagne and his family, and founder of the educational system of France in that reign; St. Willibrord, Archbishop of Utrecht, the renowned English missionary to the heathen of Batavia and Westphalia; and many others.

From France as many as fifty landed at one time in Cork, on the way to the school of Inniscarra. Dagobert II, King of France; Agilbert, Bishop of Paris; St. Paternus and his father Petranus, of Brittany, and many others were educated in Ireland. That education, we have seen, embraced a wide range of secular subjects. But in all cases the study of Divinity and the Holy Scriptures formed the basis of all instruction to laity and clergy alike. Religion

¹ Conlath, the first monastic bishop of Kildare, was also a skilled artist in gold and silver and other metals.

was not, as in other countries, divorced from classical literature and scientific knowledge, nor was secular instruction divorced from religious teaching. This we gather from the glimpse we obtain of the lives of some of the lay students of the Irish colleges. For example, King Oswald interpreted St. Aidan's sermons to his subjects ; and the layman John Scotus Erigena took part in the predestinarian controversy, and was so well grounded in Scripture and philosophy as to be able to oppose Radbert's speculations as to transubstantiation.

The conditions under which the educational work of the seventh and eighth centuries was carried on were widely different from those in our modern colleges and schools. Some of the most celebrated schools had as many as 3,000 students at one time. These did not occupy the precincts of the monastery proper. They settled down around it, and built their little huts of wattles and mud. Two or three, as in the eastern lauras, might occupy one such cell. Their studies were sometimes carried on in the open air, where the lessons of the professors were also given, as we learn from an incident in St. Columba's life. The kitchens of the students were separate from those of the monks. Education was free, as Bede tells us, no charge being made for food, instruction, or books ; though, no doubt, the rule which generally governed the reception of guests in some monasteries, may have applied to Irish students also. They might remain a week free, but after that time were required to help in the general

work of the place—plough, dig, take their turn at the mill. In the case of those not accustomed to manual labour, literary or other suitable work was found. In some cases presents of money would be made by the friends of the students. Alcuin, when at the Court of Charlemagne, sent a present of £12 to his old school at Clonmacnoise.

The rules of discipline in the Irish monasteries, in part at least, applied also to the monastic schools. Offences were punished by fasting, confinement to the grounds, imposition of lessons, or corporal punishment, regulated according to the nature of the offence, and the age or position of the offender. From six to two hundred stripes of a whip might be given, but not more than twenty-five at one time. Coughing in church entailed six stripes, and the same number was inflicted for smiling at prayers, or for not singing out lustily; or, as an alternative, perhaps a number of verses had to be committed to memory. The monks and students equally enjoyed a general holiday, on the occasion, for example, of the visit of some "old boy" who had distinguished himself in the world, and brought honour to his *alma mater*. Such an occasion was the visit of St. Columba to Clonmacnoise. The whole monastery, school, and district turned out to meet him. The students extemporized a chair, in which they placed the saint, and, raising him on their shoulders, chaired him in triumph to the college. Such were the schoolboys and students of 1,300 years ago.

CHAPTER XII.

EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS.

THAT so few monuments of ancient architecture exist in Ireland at present is, no doubt, due to the fact that the primitive buildings were of wood—generally hurdles covered with clay. Such buildings continued to be used as late as the twelfth century. The palace erected for Henry II during his visit to Ireland was of this kind.

There were, however, some stone dwellings and churches erected in Ireland as early as the time of St. Patrick ; indeed, in some of the traditions about St. Patrick we find mentioned the names of three stone-masons who are said to have accompanied him to Ireland.

In the west of Ireland are still to be seen the ruins of many stone buildings of very great antiquity, both churches and dwellings. The dwelling-houses are circular in form, built in the cyclopean style, that is, with large stones without mortar, and evidently before the principle of the arch was known. The roof is formed by the “gradual approach of the stones laid horizontally till it is closed at the top by a single stone.” The use of lime cement is said to have been unknown to the pagan Irish. It only came gradually into use after the introduction of

Christianity. In the west of Ireland the early monks continued to build such beehive-shaped dwellings without mortar, as was then customary there, though elsewhere their cells were generally made of hurdles.

The following [FIG. 15] illustration, taken from

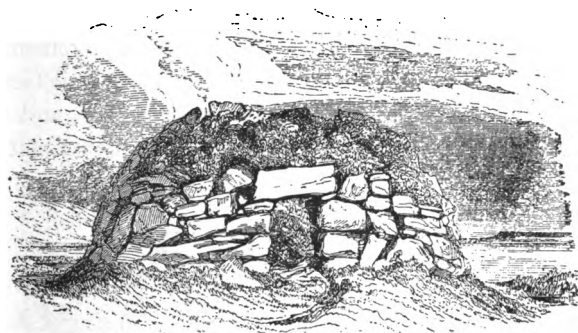


FIG. 15.—HOUSE OF ST. FINAN CAM.

Petrie's *Round Towers*, will give an idea of this class of building. It is a view of a house occupied by St. Finan Cam in the sixth century, and is situated on an island in Lough Lee, on the borders of Kerry. The ruins of similar houses are numerous on the western coast.

The churches are evidently of the same age as the dwelling-houses. They have stone roofs, and are similarly built. But it is remarkable that while the houses are circular in shape, the plan of the churches is generally rectangular in form. This uniformity in plan can only be accounted for on the supposition

that they have been erected in conformity with a model introduced by some one whose memory was held in universal veneration. Such was St. Patrick, and tradition asserts that he not only introduced this form of church into Ireland, but also prescribed the size which the more important churches should be made. The western stone-roofed churches are very small, generally about 15 or 16 feet long, by from 8 to 10 feet in width. Such is that of Tempull Ceananach, on the middle island of Galway Bay, and the church of St. MacDara [FIG. 16], off the coast of Connemara.

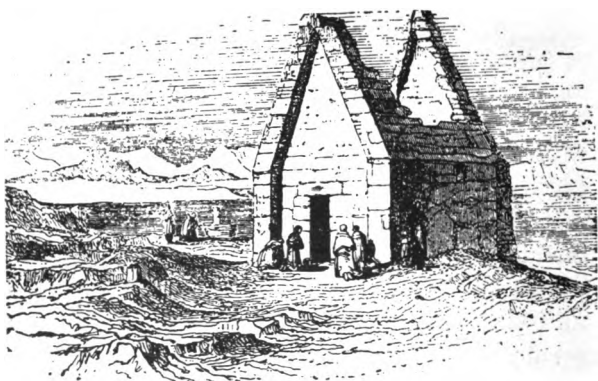


FIG. 16.—CHURCH OF ST. MACDARA.
15 feet by 11 feet.

Though Dr. Petrie accounts for the peculiar architecture of these churches by the suggestion that the early Christian monks adopted the pagan architecture of the old Firbolg and Tuatha de Danann

tribes, which prevailed around them in the west, yet others assert that it is of eastern origin. Ruins of similar buildings are said to be found in the deserted cities of Central Syria. This region, which abounded in churches and monasteries built between the third and seventh centuries, was depopulated in the early part of the seventh century by the Saracens, and its flourishing Christian institutions destroyed. It may have been that amongst the many strangers who at that period sought an asylum in Ireland, there were some Syrian monks to whom is due the introduction of this style of church architecture, with which they were familiar.

That churches in other parts of Ireland were also sometimes built of stone is evident from the name *daimhliags*, i.e., "stone houses," by which they are often called. The name seems only to have been applied to the larger churches, the standard length of which appears to have been 60 feet.¹ These churches were humble, unadorned buildings, with roofs of wood, covered with reeds or straw. They were always rectangular in form, and entered by a central west door. The larger churches had usually a chancel, in which the altar stood. This chancel, which extended to the east, was always rectangular in shape. The semicircular apse, so often met with elsewhere, is never found in the early Irish churches. Before the twelfth century these churches were never named after any but Irish saints, who were generally the original founders.

¹ In the ninth century the length of Armagh Cathedral was 140 feet.

Another kind of ecclesiastical building very common in Ireland, as indeed in other countries, was the small oratory or private chapel. It was originally designed exclusively for the private devotions of the founder and his household. There were, however, various classes of oratories besides those of an exclusively private character. Some were built near the graves of saints ; some near churches ; others attached to churches, and entered from them ; others near the

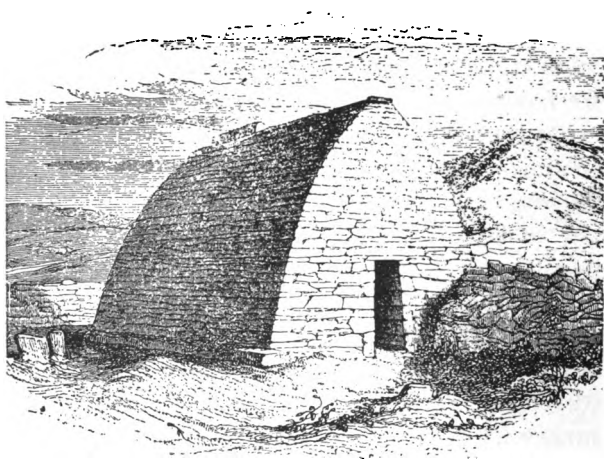


FIG. 17.—ORATORY AT GALLERUS.

External measurement, 23 feet long, 10 feet wide, 18 feet high.

hermit's cell ; and others near the houses of the wealthy ; besides the conventual oratories which were required to be built in connection with all monasteries. These private chapels were not always consecrated. In Ireland they were at first called *duirtheachs*, i.e.,

“the houses of oak,” from the material of which they were usually built, though we have already seen that some of the early monastic oratories were of stone. Dr. Petrie considers that the oratory [FIG. 17] at Gallerus in Kerry may possibly be even older than St. Patrick’s time. The *duirtheachs* varied much in size. Some were large enough to answer the purposes of a parish church ; others were so small that they could be moved about. Such was the oratory erected in the seventh century for St. Moling at St. Mullins, in County Carlow, by the celebrated builder Goban Saer, to whom tradition ascribes the erection of the round towers at Kilmacduach, Killala, and Antrim.



FIG. 18.—ST. PATRICK’S BELL.

Though most of our churches have now square towers attached to them, there were no towers on

the early churches. They seem to have been introduced about the sixth or seventh century, when the use of large bells to call people to worship first became general. Such a bell we have seen (page 46) was in use in St. Columba's time. Small hand-bells appear to have always been used in connection with public worship. They were quadrilateral in form till about the ninth century, when they were made circular in shape. St. Patrick's bell¹ [FIG. 18] and its beautifully ornamented case [FIG. 19] are in the National Museum in Dublin, and that of St. Mogue (624) is in Armagh Public Library. The bells of the saints were held in great reverence, and

¹ A number of bells have been preserved which are said to have belonged to early Irish saints. The oldest and most venerated of these bells is that known as the "Clog-an-eadaichta—Phatraic," the bell of the will of Patrick [FIG. 18], which St. Columba presented to the Church of Armagh. In it we possess the oldest relic of the ancient Church of Ireland. It is very roughly made of two thick iron plates, one of which is bent over the top and sides, and fastened to the other by coarse iron rivets. The joints appear to have been filled with melted bronze, into which also the bell was plunged to give it more solidity. The handle is also of iron. The bell stands 6 inches high, and at the mouth is 5 inches by 4.

The shrine [FIG. 19] which was made for this bell is one of great beauty and exquisite workmanship. It is made of brass, to which the ornamental parts are attached with rivets. The front is adorned with silver gilt plates and gold filigree, and also with gems and crystals. An inscription on it shows that it was made when Donald was Bishop of Armagh (1092-1106). As this shrine, with its venerated bell, was always in the custody of a special keeper, it has a perfectly authentic history, which can be traced from the time it was made until the present.

The illustrations of the bell and shrine in this work are reproductions of photographs specially taken for the purpose.

when worn out were preserved in beautiful shrines specially made for them.

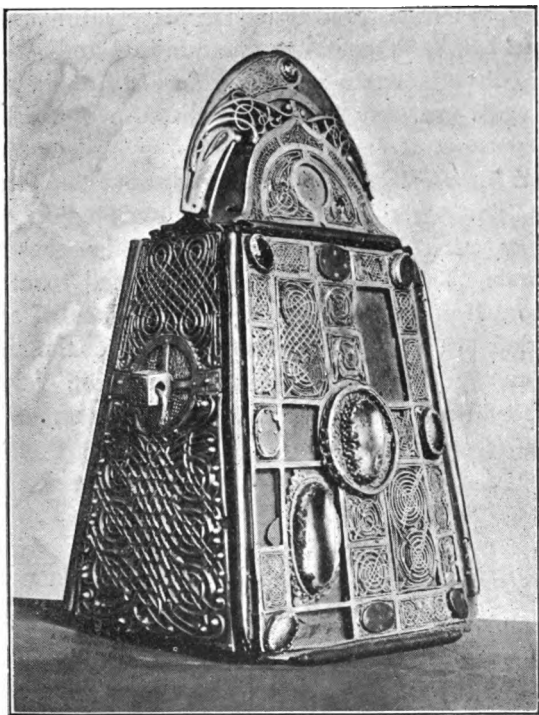


FIG. 19.—SHRINE OF ST. PATRICK'S BELL.

The Round Towers of Ireland have long been a subject of much discussion as to their origin and use. It is now generally agreed that they are of Christian

origin. They were all erected near to and in connection with some ecclesiastical foundation. There remain more than one hundred, of which about twenty are in a good state of preservation. They vary in height from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet, and in circumference at base from forty to sixty feet. The walls are very thick, and they have a conical-shaped stone roof, and are entered by a door always placed some fifteen or twenty feet above the foundation. The several stories are lighted by only one window each, except the highest, which has four windows. They were evidently designed to answer the double purpose of a belfry and a place of safety and defence, to which in times of danger the monks and clergy could retire with their more valuable property and church plate, &c. [FIG. 20]. This

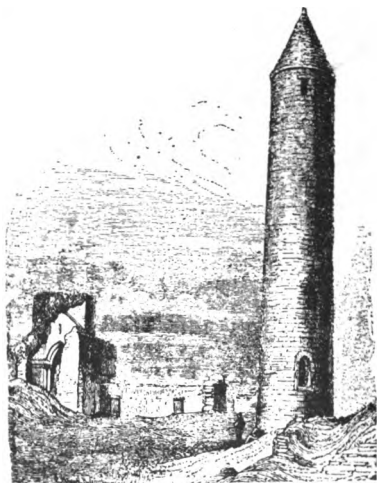


FIG. 20.—ROUND TOWER ON DEVENISH ISLAND
IN LOUGH ERNE.

probably was the primary object of their erection at various times from the eighth to the twelfth century.

The architecture of the early monasteries in Ireland was of a very primitive character. In the centre stood the abbot's cell or hut; round this, at some distance, the cells of the monks, and, in the rare event of the abbot not being in holy orders, the cell or hut of the bishop. All these cells were built of wattles or mud, and near them stood the church, built of stone or wood, and, like the cells, covered with thatch. A mill, a kiln, and a kitchen—sufficiently large to supply the common needs of the community—and, in some places, a hospitium, or strangers' house, completed the group of buildings. These were enclosed within a circular mound somewhat similar to that of the old pagan fortress. This mound was sometimes of earth only, and called a "rath" or "lis;" but if faced with stone, it was called a "cashel," though it was generally known as a "dun." Thus the monastic establishment became a kind of ecclesiastical village.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DANES.

ABOUT the latter half of the eighth century ruthless hordes of pagan Northmen—Danes and Scandinavians—began to make incursions into France and Britain. They plundered and destroyed whole districts. Imbued with a bitter hatred against Christianity, they allowed but few churches or religious houses to escape their fury. So great was the terror inspired by the continued invasions of these barbarous tribes, that a new petition for deliverance “from the fury of the Northmen” was added to the Gallic liturgy; and in the Anglo-Saxon churches every Wednesday was set apart as a day of prayer for protection against them.

During the period when England and France were being plundered by the northern pirates, Ireland was also invaded by hordes of the same race. Coming from a country situated to the east of Ireland, they were generally known as Ostmen or Easterlings, and at a later period usually called Danes. These Ostmen or Danes at first simply came for plunder. There was no concerted organization of the various expeditions; and it frequently happened that, on the withdrawal of one party,

another descended almost immediately on the same district. Monasteries and churches were special objects of destruction, as places where most booty was likely to be obtained. Twice within a few years was Iona devastated, and its monks put to the sword: it lay in the Ostmen's course to Ireland. The monasteries on Rathlin Island and Holmpatrick early shared the same fate.

In 807 new and more powerful bands arrived on the coast of Connaught, and wrought fearful destruction in that province. The monastery of Clonmacnois was robbed and burned, and many of the smaller foundations on the western coast also suffered.

Later on, the pagan hosts descended on Munster. Others landed in Ulster. No part of the kingdom was safe. Lismore was destroyed. The great monastery of Bangor was laid in ruins, and its bishop, with 900 of its monks, was cruelly slaughtered. The rich shrine of St. Comgall was plundered, and the books and manuscripts here, as elsewhere, were ruthlessly destroyed. The tombs of Christian saints and pagan kings were rifled, and much booty snatched from the bodies of the dead. The condition of the country was pitiable. The land was so torn with faction and civil discord that no united effort was made to repel the invaders. The Church itself had sadly declined in zeal and spirituality as compared with what it had been in the sixth and seventh centuries; and these times of turmoil further tended to diminish its influence. It was, however, to suffer still more. The rich booty obtained in the fitful

invasions of previous years suggested a more systematic effort to obtain a permanent settlement in the country. This was undertaken about 831 by Turgesius—for so the monks latinized Thorgils, i.e., “a servant of Thor”—the Irish name by which he was known.

Turgesius was a Norwegian prince and a skilful leader. Almost unopposed he devastated the whole island, plundered and demolished the churches and religious houses, burned the libraries, killed the monks, and destroyed everything in his course.

Armagh was seized, the cathedral was turned into a pagan temple, and its revenues converted to maintain the heathen priests and priestesses of Woden and Thor. So it was with other churches. They were desecrated with pagan rites and sacrifices, over some of which, as at Clonmacnois, Ota, wife of Turgesius, herself presided. No combined effort was made to save either church or nation. On the contrary, the Irish kings and chiefs continued to make war upon each other in presence of their common enemy. For example, Phelim, King of Munster, who was also Bishop of Cashel, took advantage of the Danish invasion to devastate the territory of the King of Ulster. He plundered Armagh, and rivalled the Danes in his depredations on the clergy. This same episcopal king had just before invaded Kildare, taken its clergy captive, and destroyed other churches in the west. Such is the sad picture of Ireland and her Church about the middle of the ninth century—domestic disunion in the presence of foreign foes,

and episcopal unfaithfulness in the presence of pagan aggression.

About eight or ten years after his arrival Turgesius had become master of the whole of Ireland. A skilful general, he saw the importance of occupying a good position as a centre from which to govern the country. He selected *Ath-cliath*—i.e., “the ford of hurdles,” near that part of the Liffey then called *Duibh-linn*—or, “the black pool.” Hither he removed his camp, built and entrenched a castle, and thus laid the foundation of the present city of Dublin. Here the triumphant Danes formed their chief settlement. They elected Turgesius king, and for fifteen years he reigned as monarch of Ireland.

Cruelty and oppression marked his reign ; religion and learning were proscribed ; books and records were destroyed ; priests and abbots fled from the country, and found refuge in England or on the Continent. To keep the people in utter subjection, forts and raths were built throughout the land, soldiers were quartered in the houses, and a tax was imposed on the head of every family, which if not paid entailed the loss of his nose ; hence it was called the nose-tax.

It was a period of great degradation to both Church and country, until in 848 Malachy, King of Meath, got Turgesius into his power, and drowned him in one of the Westmeath lakes. The provincial kings at length united their forces under Malachy, whom they elected monarch of Ireland, and eventually

succeeded in expelling most of the unsettled Danes. No effort was made to remove those who had already settled in the country, and desired to live peaceably in it. These were afterwards joined from time to time by bands of Norwegians and others, who, in the character of merchants, settled at the principal seaports. The trade of the country was in their hands. Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick were the chief Danish colonies, and these gradually increased in wealth and importance.

For nearly fifty years after the death of Turgesius there was a time of comparative peace, broken only by occasional internal strife. The Church had an opportunity of repairing the injury inflicted upon it in former years. But its bishops and clergy were becoming more worldly; in life and doctrine they had perceptibly declined from the standard of the early Church. Such a man was Cormac MacCullenan, Bishop of Cashel, who about 896 also became King of Munster. He was a man of some literary ability; his Glossary of Irish words is still extant, and he is said to have compiled the Psalter of Cashel. Cormac, who had already defeated the Kings of Meath and Ossory, invaded the territory of Carroll, King of Leinster, and with some of his clergy was killed at the Battle of Ballaghmoon, near Carlow. Gormlaith, the wife of the bishop, was soon afterwards married to the victorious king.

The union of the various Danish colonies under a king of their own seemed to promise them more stability and power. This was effected by Sitric, who

about sixty years after the death of Turgesius re-established a Danish kingdom in Dublin, which continued till the English invasion, two and a half centuries later. From the time of Sitric, the Scandinavian hordes put forth every effort to conquer the island. Malachy the Great—the second monarch of that name—checked for a time their victorious career, and his successor, Brian Boru, completed their subjection. His rule brought peace and prosperity to the kingdom. Foreign and domestic foes were alike compelled to obey him. His efforts to aid the Church were unceasing. The clergy returned to their churches, and their revenues were restored to them. Monasteries and churches were rebuilt, schools were established, and old collegiate foundations were renewed and endowed. The Irish Danes were now beginning to accept Christianity, as those residing in France and England had done. Their conversion was, however, but nominal. Brian Boru imposed Christianity on them as the national religion. His reign was one of progress, and, when he was firmly established on the throne, one of peace. It is still noted as one of the brightest reigns in the annals of Ireland. But the Danes, though kept in check, had not given up all hope of conquering the island. Treachery on the part of the King of Leinster furnished the opportunity. They summoned to their aid the chiefs of their race. Pagan Danes from Norway, Denmark, and the Orkneys, and nominal Christians from Northumbria, sent their contingents. Brian Boru recognised the danger, and, though nearly

ninety years of age, marched with his sons to meet them.

The Battle of Clontarf was fought on Good Friday, 1014, and resulted in the defeat of the Danes. The victory, however, was dearly bought. Brian Boru was murdered after the battle, and his son and grandson, and many of the bravest of the nobles, with 4,000 men, perished on the field. It was indeed a struggle for "faith and fatherland"—a contest between Christianity and paganism. Hence it marks one of the most important epochs in the history of the Church and nation. Though the Battle of Clontarf freed Ireland for ever from the power of the Danes, yet for nearly a century later conflicts between them and the Irish occasionally occurred. Danes still resided in their former colonies, and continued to retain the trade of the country in their hands.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CHURCH INDEPENDENT.

THE ancient Church of Ireland was a perfectly independent Church up to the twelfth century. Not till then did she submit to the jurisdiction of the Roman See. Few facts of history are more clearly authenticated than this. It is therefore unnecessary to do more than draw attention to a few of the historical incidents which show that independence.

Henry II of England, very early in his reign, contemplated the invasion and the subjugation of Ireland. At that time Nicholas Breakspear, the only Englishman who ever occupied the Papal chair, was Pope. He is known as Adrian IV. Henry desired to find a pretext for the invasion, and to enlist the influence of the Pope in favour of that design; so he pretended a desire to bring Ireland under the dominion of Rome, and promised, as a condition of obtaining Adrian's sanction, "to pay to St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for every house there." Adrian gladly agreed, and in 1155 issued a Papal Bull, in which he said: "We therefore, meeting your pious and laudable desire with the favour which it deserves, and graciously acceding to your petition,

express our will and pleasure that, in order *to widen the bounds of the Church*, to check the spread of vice, you shall enter that island." Thus, nearly twenty years before the invasion of Ireland by Henry II, Adrian IV acknowledges that the Irish Church was not within the "bounds" of the Roman jurisdiction.

The same fact is even more distinctly indicated in the letter of Pope Alexander III to King Henry soon after the Conquest. In this he writes: "Having such a confident hope in the fervour of your devotion as to believe that it would be your desire, not only to conserve, but to *extend, the privileges of the said [Roman] Church, and to establish her jurisdiction*, as you are in duty bound, *where she has none at present.*"

The fact of the independence of the Church of Ireland appears continually in every previous stage of her history.

We have already noted that in St. Patrick's *Confession* there is no allusion to any other authority for his mission to Ireland than that of his own belief that in undertaking it he was obeying the call of God. He came to Ireland, just as later missionaries left Ireland, without seeking other sanction or authority than that which they recognised in the Divine impulse which they endeavoured to obey. Even had it been otherwise, it would have had no bearing on the question of independence or jurisdiction. The early British Church was equally an independent national Church. It was, however, not till the seventh century

that either Church found it necessary to make any assertion of independence. Then for the first time she came in contact with the Roman Church, and at once repudiated her pretensions, and refused to give up her own ancient rites, or conform to her usages. When Augustine came to England in 597, and laboured for the conversion of the pagan Saxons, he founded a Church there in intimate communion with that of Rome. This Church thus founded in England was, in its origin, and in some points of its ritual, distinct from the ancient British Church.

It was the great aim of Pope Gregory to have "all the priests of Britain" subject to Augustine. If the British bishops would only give up their mode of keeping Easter, and perform the office of Baptism according to the Roman method, Augustine assured them they might continue to observe all the rest of their practices, "though they be contrary to our ways." But the British bishops refused to give up their independence, or change the customs of their ancient Church. This was one cause of the long and bitter enmity between the ancient British Church and the Church which Augustine set up in England under Roman jurisdiction. Between the Church of Ireland and the British Church there was constant, mutual, and friendly intercourse. While each had rites and organizations peculiar to itself, both continued to administer Baptism with the simplicity of the early Church. They continued to adhere to the early mode of calculating the time of Easter by the cycle of eighty-four years, which was originally used

by the Jews to fix the time of the Passover, and was at first adopted by the whole Western Church. The day on which Easter should be observed, as well as the exact mode of calculating the date, were subjects of long and bitter controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches in the second century. The Quartodecimans—as their name indicated—kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, on whatever day of the week that might fall. These were condemned as heretics by the Council of Nicæa (325), from which time Easter was always observed on Sunday. The Irish and British Churches had never been Quartodecimans, as they always kept Easter on Sunday. The old cycle was found to be erroneous, and about the end of the fifth century the Roman and other Western Churches adopted the more accurate one now in use. But the Irish and British Churches continued to use the old inaccurate cycle, and, not understanding the cause of the change, bitterly accused the Roman Church of heresy in departing from the old method. “Rome errs, and they who side with Rome are heretics ; the British and Irish alone are right,” expressed the popular belief, and emphasized the independence of these national Churches.

The hostility between the Roman and Irish Churches is further evident from a letter of Laurentius, Archbishop of Canterbury and successor of Augustine, in which he says the Irish in this respect (i.e., in keeping Easter) are quite as bad as the Britons, and adds that an Irish bishop named

"Daganus when he came to us would not take meat with us, no, not so much as in the same lodging where we were eating."

This spirit of independence and attachment to the rites of their national Church appears again and again in the history of her missionaries. St. Columbanus, as we have already noticed, incurred the hostility of the French bishops of the Roman Communion by his adherence to Irish rites—the Irish Easter and the Irish tonsure. He believed himself right, and remonstrated with Gregory, Bishop of Rome, as freely as with the French bishops, on their departure from ancient custom.

The historian Cardinal Baronius asserts that in the latter part of the sixth century "the bishops of Ireland were all schismatics separated from the Church of Rome." And in the latter part of the seventh century Wilfrid, who was chosen Archbishop of York, refused to be consecrated by any of the Irish bishops, or by those ordained by them, "whose communion the Apostolic See rejected." The bishops alluded to were those in Northumbria and Mercia, which districts Irish bishops and monks from Iona had converted from paganism. St. Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, resigned his See rather than accept the Roman rites.

Incidents such as these clearly show the continued independence of the Church of Ireland down to the latter part of the twelfth century.

More accurate knowledge revealed the errors in the old astronomical cycle, and by the middle of

the eighth century the Irish Church had accepted the universally recognised mode of fixing the time



FIG. 21.—HIGH CROSS OF MUREDACH, MONASTERBOICE.
From Miss Stokes's *Early Christian Art in Ireland*.

for celebrating Easter, and kept it as in other Churches. In doing so the Church abated nothing

of her ancient independence, but simply accepted the result of recognised astronomical calculations which she had not previously understood ; just as the Western Church had formerly given up the same old cycle when eastern astronomers had shown it to be erroneous.

In considering the independence of the Church of Ireland up to the twelfth century, the testimony of the numerous Celtic crosses should not be overlooked. These Irish crosses are of a type quite distinct from either that of the Latin or the Greek crosses; and as their form is peculiar to Ireland, they stand silent witnesses to the fact that the Irish Church was equally independent of both the Eastern and Western Churches during the time of their erection, which took place probably from the seventh to the twelfth century. High sculptured crosses,¹ such as those at Monasterboice [FIG. 21], Kells, and other places, were not erected before the tenth or after the twelfth century, and their sculptured panels tell the same story of an independent national Church. For example, in the annexed illustration of the Baptism of Jesus [FIG. 22], from one of the crosses at Kells, County Meath, we have probably the most

¹ The names which occur in the inscriptions on some of the high crosses tend to fix the dates of their erection. The subjects treated of in the sculptured panels, so far as they have been deciphered, seem intended to typify or represent some of the chief events connected with our Lord's life. It is to be noted that the representation of the Crucifixion on the Irish crosses differs in many details from the type generally followed in the Western Church.

ancient representation of the ecclesiastical vestments¹ worn by the Irish clergy; and it is evident from it that they were very unlike those worn by the Roman clergy.

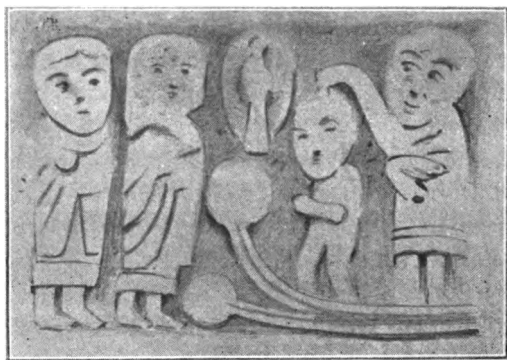


FIG. 22.—BAPTISM OF JESUS.

Sculptured on a panel of a High Cross at Kells, Co. Meath.

Reduced from a reproduction of a photograph in a pamphlet on *Art Teaching of the Ancient Irish Church*, by Rev. Canon Healy, LL.D., Rector of Kells.

¹ Though the river Jordan, i.e., *Yarden*—a name which means the “Descender,” being derived from a Hebrew word signifying “to descend,” and no doubt suggested by the rapidity of its descent—had already received its name in the days of the patriarchs, yet some of the old commentators derived the name Jordan from the names of two small streams, the “Jor” and the “Dan,” which united and formed the river. There was also an old tradition which asserted that our Lord was baptized in the Jordan just at the junction of these two streams. The tradition is embodied in the representation of our Lord’s Baptism in a sculptured panel [FIG. 22] of one of the crosses at Kells. The sources of the two streams are indicated, and the Baptism is represented as being performed where they unite.

The ecclesiastical vestments here represented as worn by the Irish clergy appear to consist of two garments, one longer than the other, over which garments is worn a kind of flowing alb with loose sleeves, not very unlike the modern surplice.

CHAPTER XV.

INDEPENDENCE LOST.

THE steps by which the Church of Ireland gradually conformed to the Roman system, and finally lost her independence, are easily traced. From the settlement of the Easter controversy, about the middle of the eighth century, there was more friendly intercourse between the Church of Ireland and the English Church founded by Augustine. Though they still differed much in points of ritual, there was no serious doctrinal controversy. No doubt, the errors in doctrine and practice which were gradually creeping into the Roman Church had also imperceptibly found their way into the Irish Church.

There was as yet no direct attempt to interfere with the independence of the Irish Church. On the contrary, the efforts towards bringing her practices into conformity with those of the Roman Church were based on the recognition of her independence, and not on any authority over her.

It was not till the end of the eleventh century that the claim for universal dominion was made by the Roman See. The celebrated Hildebrand, Gregory VII, asserted his right to temporal as well

as spiritual jurisdiction, and demanded the recognition of his claims from all European countries. The circumstances of the Irish Church and nation at that time greatly favoured his pretensions, which in the following century, as far as Ireland was concerned, were fully realized.

We have already seen (page 88) that though the Danes were defeated at Clontarf, and their foreign allies driven from the kingdom, yet Malachy, who had resumed his position as Monarch of Ireland on the death of Brian Boru, allowed those who desired to live peaceably to remain in the Danish settlements of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick. Malachy was the last real Monarch of Ireland. After the Battle of Clontarf, where so many of the nobles were killed, the Irish nation seems to have gradually fallen to pieces. The rival claims of tribal chiefs, who disputed succession to the headship of clans, kept the country in a state of anarchy. There was no strong hand to suppress civil discord. The Danish settlers, who were now professedly Christians, grew in power. In Dublin a Danish king continued to reign, and his kingdom gradually came to be looked upon as one of the ordinary native states. Danish kings now sat on the throne of England (1017-1041). There was naturally much intercourse between the Danish inhabitants of the two countries. Sitric, a second king of that name, who reigned in Dublin, visited Rome. On his return he founded a cathedral (1040) of great magnificence, on the site of which Christ

Church Cathedral now stands. This seems to have been one of the first churches built by the Danes in Ireland. A portion of the ruins of the Chapter House is all that now remains of the old Danish cathedral buildings.

Donatus, in whose episcopate the cathedral was built, was the first bishop of the Danish colony in Dublin. Hitherto the Danes were, no doubt, dependent on the ministrations of the monastic bishops and clergy in the neighbourhood—probably those of Kilmainham or Glasnevin, or other foundations near Dublin.

The Normans, a branch of the great Scandinavian race which under Rollo had settled in France early in the preceding century, became the ruling power in England from 1066. They were ardently devoted to the Church of Rome. William the Conqueror was especially favoured by Pope Alexander, who blessed his expedition to England, and presented him with a consecrated banner and a ring said to contain one of St. Peter's hairs. To satisfy his followers, and bind the English Church more closely to that of Rome, William ejected most of the English bishops, and filled their Sees with Norman prelates. Lanfranc, a personal friend of the king, and formerly a prior of Bec in Normandy, though an Italian by birth, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Stigand, the former Primate, was deposed. The Irish Danes and Normans were of the same race, and regarded each other as kinsmen. Donatus died in 1074, and his successor, Patrick, instead of being consecrated by the Primate

of Armagh, was sent by the Danes to England, and consecrated by Lanfranc, the English Primate, to whom he took the oath of canonical obedience. He bound himself to obey him and his "successors in all things pertaining to the Christian religion."

Thus through the alien Danish colony of Dublin did the Primate of England, and indirectly through him the See of Rome, obtain for the first time a semblance of jurisdiction in Irish ecclesiastical affairs. Bishop Patrick was the first to betray the independence of his Church. The same course was followed during the next half century by each of his three successors—Donat, Samuel, and Gregory. They were sent over to England for consecration, as were the Danish bishops of Waterford and Limerick, and took the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Irish bishops were indignant that any bishops in Ireland should be under foreign jurisdiction. Hence, in 1121, when a vacancy occurred in Dublin, Celsus, the Primate, and some of his clergy forcibly seized Christ Church Cathedral, in order to elect a bishop of their own obedience. The Danish burgesses and clergy of Dublin, however, rose against them, expelled the Primate and his followers, and then proceeded to elect Gregory as their bishop. He was a layman, and that he might receive no Irish orders, he was ordained priest and deacon by the Bishop of Salisbury, and a few days later consecrated Bishop of Dublin by the English Primate, to whom he took the canonical oath of obedience.

These bishops of the Danish colonies, who owned obedience only to Canterbury, were most active in furthering the introduction of the Roman system. They gradually gained over some of the Irish bishops and clergy, but, above all, succeeded in influencing in the same direction the great schools in the principal monastic establishments. Lismore was presided over by Malchus, the first bishop of the Waterford Danes. He was wholly devoted to the Roman system, in which he had been trained at Canterbury. Thus Lismore was directly controlled from Canterbury. One of its monks—Malachy, afterwards Primate—became abbot of the ruined monastery of Bangor, which he restored, and influenced its teaching in favour of Roman uniformity. Malachy had received his earlier training in the School of Armagh; hence we may conclude that it, too, at that time favoured the Roman custom, especially as we know it did so forty years later. Clonard alone for a time remained conservative. A further step was now taken which tended still more to weaken the independence of the national Church.

The success of Gilbert, the bishop of the Limerick Danes, and a personal friend of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in influencing the Irish clergy in favour of the Roman system, was rewarded by his elevation to the position of Papal Legate, or representative, in Ireland. Thus, for the first time in the history of the Irish Church, was direct communication with the Papal Court at Rome officially established.

The episcopal organization of the Roman Church—

as indeed of all the Western Churches—was diocesan or territorial, whilst that of the Irish Church was monastic and tribal. Gilbert, as Papal Legate, first attempted to make the Irish episcopate more distinctly diocesan. He induced the Synod of Rathbreasail—the first Irish Council ever presided over by a Papal Legate—to partition Ireland into twenty-



FIG. 23.—CISTERCIAN MONK.

four dioceses, all under the primacy of Armagh, except Dublin, which continued to be recognised as subject only to Canterbury. It was not, however, till the Synod of Kells—about thirty years later—that the diocesan boundaries and jurisdictions were finally arranged. Malachy, Bishop of Connor, was elected to the primacy on the death of Celsus (1134).

but resigned it about three years afterwards for that of Down. In that position he had more leisure to press forward those changes in the Irish Church which he considered were yet required to bring it completely into conformity with Rome.

In order to carry out these designs, and reform the rules of the Irish monastic orders, Malachy introduced the Cistercian¹ order [FIG. 23] from the Monastery of St. Bernard at Clairvaux. This was the first branch of a foreign order of monks that was ever introduced into Ireland, and its first monastery was built at Mellifont [FIG. 24], near Drogheda.



FIG. 24.—RUINS OF MELLIFONT ABBEY.

From Wilde's *The Beauties of the Boyne*.

¹ So called from Cistercium, or Citeaux, near Dijon, where their first monastery was built in 1098. They wore a white dress—were forbidden to take gifts of churches, altars, or tithes, or to meddle with the pastoral office. The monks gave themselves to spiritual employments; “bearded” or lay brothers attended to the secular affairs of the convent. For a time it was the most popular order.

A few of the monks were Irish, who had been trained at Clairvaux, but the majority were Frenchmen. They were all, however, attached to the Roman Pontiff, and favourable to the Anglo-Norman interests ; hence, their introduction became an important factor in those causes which were gradually tending to influence the Irish Church to give up her independence.

The changes we have already noticed were such as tended only towards the assimilation of the organization and ritual of the Church of Ireland to that of Rome. There was as yet no direct acknowledgment of spiritual jurisdiction, except perhaps in the case of the bishops in the Danish colonies. The bestowal of the pallium or pall¹ [FIG. 25] by the Pope on a metropolitan bishop was not only a mark of distinction, but during the growth of the Papacy had come to be accepted as a badge indicating that its possessor acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman See.

No pall had ever been sent to Ireland. Malachy, however, determined that his country should no longer be without that distinction. He therefore went to Rome to ask for one for the recently erected Archbishopric of Cashel and the Primatial See of Armagh, which he had resigned, probably in order that he might urge his request more freely. The Pope was very willing to grant the pall, but required that a formal request should be made for it by a

¹ The pallium or pall is a narrow band to surround the neck, and hang down behind and before. It is made from the wool of lambs reared in the convent of St. Agnes at Rome.

Synod of the Irish Church. The Church generally, however, does not seem to have been very desirous of the distinction, or of the position which the acceptance of the pall would indicate. It was not till ten

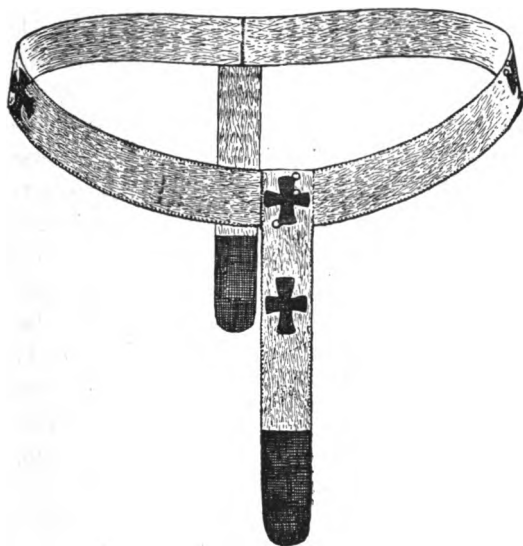


FIG. 25.—THE PALLIUM.

years had passed that a small Synod, held at Holmpatrick, was induced to authorize Malachy to request palls from the Pope. Malachy died¹ on the journey, and there was no further effort made by the Church

¹ Forty-two years after his death he was canonized by Clement III for his exertions in bringing the Church of his native land into conformity with the Roman Church. He was the first Irishman on whom the title of "Saint" was conferred by Papal authority.

to obtain them. Three years after Malachy's death Pope Eugenius sent his legate, Cardinal Paparo, with four palls. At the Synod of Kells (1152)—where Paparo, as the Pope's legate, was allowed to preside, though only in priest's orders—Ireland was definitely divided into thirty-eight dioceses. Dublin and Tuam were raised to the dignity of archbishoprics, and Armagh continued to be acknowledged as the Primatial See. Palls were then distributed to the four archbishops. Thus, there was a tacit acknowledgment of Roman jurisdiction so far at least as seemed to be implied in the Pope's representative as such, presiding at the Synod, and in the acceptance of the palls by the archbishops.

Of the distinctive doctrinal teaching of the Irish Church at this period we know but little. It was not, however, in all places fully in harmony with that of the Church of Rome. Therefore, to enforce uniformity, Gelasius called a Synod at Clane, near Sallins, Co. Kildare, ten years after the Synod of Kells was held, at which it was decreed that no one should be admitted a teacher who had not studied theology in the school of Armagh.

In this sketch we have traced briefly the growth of uniformity in doctrine and discipline between the Church of Ireland and the Church of Rome, and also the gradual development of the idea of Papal supremacy, at least amongst the bishops. But it is remarkable that no Synod of the Irish Church ever formally acknowledged that supremacy. In accepting palls, and giving precedence to the Papal legates,

there was a tacit acknowledgment of some kind of supremacy ; but its nature was vague and indefinite. Even the decrees of the Council of Cashel, held in 1172, after the Conquest, and from which the laity were for the first time excluded, went no further than the enforcement of uniformity. " All Divine matters shall for the future in all parts of Ireland be regulated after the model of Holy Church according to the observances of the Anglican Church."

Though it took a long time to reduce the practices of the Irish Church to the state of uniformity thus demanded, yet the teaching and incidents of the previous century had so familiarized the popular mind with Roman claims that there were but comparatively few to oppose them. Hence, at the conquest of the country, the Church of Ireland—all her peculiar rites and ritual gradually abandoned—the primitive purity of her doctrinal teaching gone—her love for the Holy Scriptures and her faith in their authority weakened—almost unresistingly became merged into that of England, and, like her became subject to that of Rome.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONQUEST.

THE conquest of Ireland by Henry II was an event of such importance to both Church and country that it may be well briefly to notice a few of the more important incidents connected with it. Henry had long contemplated adding Ireland to his dominions, which already embraced not only England, but also a large portion of the richest provinces of France. He had obtained the Pope's sanction to the undertaking; but his French wars, and his struggles against the encroachments of the clergy, and other cares of his kingdom, prevented him for some years from carrying out his design. The treachery of Dermot MacMorrough [FIG. 26], King of Leinster, however, at length afforded him an excellent opportunity of taking possession of the country.

Dermot carried off the wife of Tiernan O'Rourke, King of Breffny, a district which included Leitrim and Cavan. In the war which ensued he was driven from the country by the combined forces of Tiernan and Roderick O'Connor, King of Ireland. Dermot fled to Wales, and succeeded in enlisting a number of English knights in his project of revenge. The

chief of these was Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, better known as Strongbow. Dermot promised him his daughter Eva in marriage, and the crown of Leinster after his death. Amongst the



FIG. 26. — DERMOT MACMORROUGH.

From MS. of Giraldus Cambrensis (1200).
(Reproduced from Wilde's Catalogue, R.I.A.)

other knights who entered on the expedition were Robert FitzStephen, Raymond le Gros, Robert and Philip de Barri, to whose brother Gerald—better known as the historian Giraldus Cambrensis—we

are indebted for much information concerning the conquest of Ireland. Maurice FitzGerald was also one of the knights; from him sprang the great family of the Geraldines, the Earls of Desmond and Kildare. These knights, within two years, aided by Dermot and many other Irish, took possession of the principal strongholds, and virtually conquered the country.

Dermot died in his castle at Ferns, near which he had founded an Augustinian monastery. Strongbow then, according to his agreement, and in right of his wife, became King of Leinster, but he only assumed the title of Earl. Henry, who had watched closely the victorious career of Strongbow and the other knights, now determined to come himself to Ireland with an army. He arrived in 1171, and found it unnecessary to fight a single battle. The Irish chiefs all made their submission, except O'Neill of Ulster. They saw that it was hopeless to contend against him, or were perhaps willing to receive him as their king, in the hope that his power would secure peace and prosperity. Strongbow and his knights also laid their conquests at their sovereign's feet. The Irish bishops, with the Primate Gelasius at their head, also made their submission. Thus Henry conquered Ireland without shedding one drop of blood: Dermot, his Irish allies, and the Welsh knights, had already conquered it for him. It was, however, far from being subdued. Having obtained possession of the kingdom, Henry established the Irish kings and princes, who had submitted to him, as feudal lords, holding their

territories under him as their sovereign. He confirmed Strongbow in the possession of Leinster, and granted to other knights the Liberties or Palatinates of Meath, Kilkenny, Waterford, and Ulster, to be held on a like feudal basis. These territories were afterwards known as the English Pale, and were governed by the English laws. The Irish in other parts still retained their ancient Brehon laws. Henry spent but six months in Ireland, living in great state in his wicker palace in Dublin—a town then of as great commercial importance as London was. Having annexed the country, and appointed Strongbow as his deputy, Henry returned in triumph to England as “Lord of Ireland”—a title which the English monarchs continued to use till Henry VIII took that of “King of Ireland.”

Henry granted royal rights to the feudal lords. They had the government of their territories in their own hands, and built castles to maintain their authority. The ruins of these castles are seen throughout the country to the present day. They had also the power of waging war on the native chiefs or with each other without reference to the king as their liege lord. Hence there were frequent feuds amongst the colonists themselves, as well as between them and the native chiefs, which so weakened the Anglo-Norman settlers that within half a century their power was well-nigh destroyed. There was no strong central authority in the country to keep the feudal chiefs in check: they did practically what was right in their own eyes. There was constant dis-

order in this and in the succeeding reign. Richard I was wholly occupied with the Crusades, which at this time none of the Irish princes seem to have joined. King John was more successful in reducing the chiefs to order during his visit to Ireland. He divided the English Pale into twelve counties, and established a further code of English laws. When King John returned to England, owing to his dispute with the barons, and his quarrel with the Pope, he left John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, as his deputy, under whose wise administration Ireland at length enjoyed a short period of comparative peace and prosperity. This was the John de Grey whose election to the Archbishopric of Canterbury was set aside in favour of Stephen Langton by Pope Innocent III, and was one of the causes which ultimately led to the Pope placing the kingdom under an interdict, and excommunicating King John. In this interdict Ireland was not included. The fatal policy of looking upon the Irish people as "enemies," instead of subjects, was from the first adopted, and continued for centuries. In the long, weak reign of Henry III no progress was made towards consolidating the kingdom. English and Irish equally felt the need of a strong government, and general discontent in both Church and country continued to find expression in insurrections and disorders.

CHAPTER XVII.

ANGLICIZING THE CHURCH.

THE annexation of Ireland to England, and the tacit acceptance of Roman interference in ecclesiastical matters, soon effected many changes, not only in the primitive ritual and practice of the Irish Church, but also in the status and position of her bishops and clergy. The Synod of Cashel (1172) was summoned by Henry, in order to carry out his part of the compact entered into with Adrian IV. The canons passed at it, and at the Synod of Dublin fourteen years later, besides dealing with uniformity of ritual and other matters, directed that tithes should be paid to the clergy, as in the English Church. The poverty of the secular clergy had hitherto kept them in the position of servants to their tribal chieftains, who taxed their Church lands, and, until the ninth century at least, required from them military service. The bishops, though respected for their office, ranked socially below the chiefs of the tribes, to whose influence they generally owed their election, even though the clergy had also a voice in it. Henry changed all this. He raised the social status of the bishops. He placed them in a position of dignity above the secular lords and chieftains. He decreed

for the clergy the payment of tithes of cattle, fruits, and other produce of the land ; exempted Church lands from taxes ; and conferred on them other privileges similar to those granted to the clergy of the English Church. By these means he hoped to secure in the Church an interested ally in his efforts to bring the kingdom thoroughly under his rule.

The native clergy of the Irish Church were not, however, to reap much benefit from these privileges. Synods might pass laws and canons, but the rural clergy generally kept to their old customs. The Church of Ireland continued to be looked upon with disfavour by that of England. The Anglo-Normans still considered her heretical. The reforms which were to bring her into complete union with the Roman Church were not yet carried out. To influence the Church therefore in his favour, and carry out the changes which would bring it more fully into conformity of practice with the English Church, as well as to reward his friends, Henry placed English bishops in the Irish Sees, just as in earlier times Normans had been thrust into the chief Sees of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

In both countries political motives generally influenced episcopal appointments. At the time of the Conquest Laurence O'Toole was Archbishop of Dublin. He had formerly been Abbot of Glendalough. He interested himself much in protecting his clergy when Dermot MacMorrough and Strongbow took possession of Dublin. A devoted supporter of the Roman See, he approved of Henry's

invasion as a means of extending its interests. His efforts to promote religion and the welfare of his people were unceasing, and his disappointment therefore proportionately great when he found them despised and oppressed by their new rulers. He determined to plead with Henry on their behalf ; but death overtook him in Normandy while on his journey. His high personal character for integrity and piety, and his efforts to promote Papal power in Ireland, were so appreciated that Honorius III canonized him in 1225, just forty-five years after his death. He was the second Irishman on whom a Pope conferred the title of "Saint ;" Malachy of Armagh was the first. Both helped to take away the independence of their native Church. It was now gone, and during all the time it was subject to that of Rome—a period of nearly 500 years—no Irishman was ever appointed to the Archbishopric of Dublin. Up to the time of Charles II, when the Reformation was firmly established, Englishmen with English and Roman interests and sympathies were always chosen for Dublin ; generally, too, for Armagh ; and frequently for the other principal Sees and for prominent positions in the Church and monastic establishments. This policy, intended to help forward the political interests of England and the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome, was not always successful. The Irish clergy and Irish monks were naturally jealous of the preference given to foreigners. Hence the history of the Church during its period of subjection is a record of almost constant strife

and opposition between English and Irish monks and clergy, which frequently resulted in violence and bloodshed.

For example, the English Bishop of Waterford, to which the Synod of Kells had subjected the more ancient Irish See of Lismore, was unable to obtain by legal means a practical recognition of the union. He therefore, with many of his clergy, proceeded to Lismore, attacked the bishop in his cathedral, tore off his episcopal robes, and carried him a prisoner to Dungarvan Castle. About the same time the Anglo-Norman prelates refused to admit men of Irish birth to the benefices, canonries, or even monasteries, under their control. Nor were the Irish bishops and clergy slow to retaliate. In the middle of the thirteenth century they entered into a mutual agreement to exclude Englishmen from canonries and positions of dignity in the Church. This resolution, however, at the instance of Henry III, was annulled by the Pope, though no objection was made in the following century to a clause in the celebrated Statute of Kilkenny, which excluded Irishmen from all Church benefices within the Pale. Until the time of the Reformation the Pope was always found to side with the English interests against those of the native Irish.

On the death of Laurence O'Toole, in 1180, John Comyn, an Englishman in deacon's orders, was, through the king's influence, elected Archbishop of Dublin. He was not consecrated in Ireland, but at Rome—the first bishop ever consecrated by a Pope

for an Irish See. The jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin was at this time practically limited to the city. The temporalities of the See were but small. These, however, were greatly increased by a grant of lands in the Palatinate of Kildare, and the absorption of some of the extensive estates belonging to the great Abbey of Glendalough.¹ In virtue of these estates Prince John conferred on the Archbishop of Dublin the power to hold courts and administer justice upon the tenants without regard to local authorities. The exercise of this privilege continued down to the present century, and occasioned frequent collisions between the episcopal authority and that of the Dublin Corporation. Indeed, the opposition of the citizens of Dublin to the encroachments of the English archbishops, and the taxes levied by their authority, resulted, in the time of Henry de Londres, John Comyn's successor, in the city being placed under an interdict. The new ecclesiastical system and its disregard for lay rights was for a long time as unpopular in Dublin as in the more Celtic parts of the country. Archbishop

¹ The Diocese of Glendalough itself was not joined to Dublin till the death of its then bishop, in accordance with the canons passed at the Synod of Kells. But so distasteful to the people—especially to the sept of the O'Tooles—was the suppression of this celebrated old Irish bishopric, founded by St. Kevin, and its union with the modern Danish Diocese of Dublin, that a succession of Irish Bishops of Glendalough continued to be preserved, in spite of Papal opposition, down to the dawn of the Reformation. In 1497, its last bishop, a friar named Denis White, formally surrendered the See to the Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Comyn, who resided near the site now occupied by the Synod Hall, and within the city walls, was subject to the jurisdiction of the Corporation. He removed to a position in his own territory near the ancient church of St. Patrick. This church he rebuilt as a collegiate foundation, and his successor transformed it into a cathedral. Since that time (1220) there have been two cathedrals in Dublin, between the authorities of which there was frequent litigation as to their respective rights, until about eighty years later, when Christ Church was recognised as the senior Corporation with corresponding privileges. On Disestablishment, in 1871, Christ Church continued to be the cathedral of the dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough, and St. Patrick's became the National Cathedral, and the majority of its Chapter are now elected by the several Dioceses as vacancies occur.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MONKS AND FRIARS.

THE outward organization of the Irish Church in the thirteenth century was gradually approaching to conformity with that of the English Church, though not, as we have seen, without occasional opposition. The ancient altar of wood, which the Irish Church had used—in accordance with the custom of the early Churches for at least the first four centuries—was gradually being replaced by one of stone. The decrees of the Synod of Kells on the subject of diocesan episcopacy were also gradually bearing fruit. As the village bishops died, their small Sees were united to others to form larger dioceses, their districts being placed in charge of rural deans,¹ and their old limits generally preserved. The

¹ The origin of rural deaneries in Ireland, and the manner in which the present dioceses were generally formed by the union of many smaller Sees, are exemplified in the case of the Diocese of Meath. From the records of a Synod held in 1216 by Simon Rochfort, Bishop of Meath, we learn that at that time the Churches of Trim, Kells, Slane, Skryne, and Dunshaughlin, which were formerly bishops' Sees, had already been made into rural deaneries on their suppression as Sees, and, with others, united to form the Diocese of Meath. The names of many of the ancient small Sees are still retained as those of the present rural deaneries. The office of rural dean, which was allowed to fall into disuse, was not revived in the Church of Ireland till about 1780, when Dr. Agar, Archbishop of Cashel, restored it, and his example was followed by the bishops generally.

ancient mode of episcopal election by the clergy and laity was also superseded by that which prevailed in England. From the reign of King John the sanction of the king was required, and a *congé d'élire* issued, before the Cathedral Chapter could proceed to elect. Sometimes also the Pope usurped the power of appointing bishops himself—a power exercised for the first time in Ireland when, in the reign of King John, he appointed MacGillivider to the primacy of Armagh. Not till the Church of Ireland got back her full independence at Disestablishment was the principle which regulated the ancient mode of episcopal election restored to her again.

Amongst the changes effected in the Irish Church by the Conquest none perhaps were more important than those connected with the introduction of new monastic establishments, which were founded in great numbers during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These were built on a scale of magnificence and splendour before unknown in Ireland—as is evident from the ruins of those which still remain. In them England and Rome had faithful allies. Most of the old Irish monasteries had passed away. Those that escaped destruction from the Danes had nearly all been remodelled according to the rules of some foreign order. Love to God and a desire to spread the knowledge of His Word had prompted St. Patrick, St. Columba, St. Columbanus, and the early saints to build their humble monastic cells as centres from which the light of the

Gospel might radiate. Other motives at this period frequently prompted their erection. It was indeed an age of church-building and of founding monasteries throughout Europe. The dissolution of all things was expected to take place 1,000 years after the Advent of Christ. The eleventh century dawned and the end of the world had not come. Men felt grateful for the respite, and their gratitude found expression in buildings dedicated to the glory of God. The idea that works of piety could atone for a life of godless impurity and rapine prompted, no doubt, the erection and endowment of many such buildings. It was particularly so in Ireland, where within eight years after the Conquest numerous abbeys, some of them the finest Ireland ever possessed, were built as a kind of trespass-offering for their deeds of violence by the principal leaders of the invasion. Over 160 monastic establishments were erected within 150 years after that event.

Many of these, however, were not Irish monasteries, though built on Irish soil and endowed with Irish land. They were founded by the Norman nobles or through their influence as centres for English colonies, and were not as a rule intended for the instruction or benefit of the native Irish. Some of them were only branches or "cells" of religious houses already founded in England or Wales, and they generally obtained their monks from the parent house. Such, for example, was the Cistercian Abbey of Tintern in County Wexford, founded by William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke.

It was a branch of Tintern Abbey in Wales, from whence its monks came. The Benedictine priories founded by John, Earl Moreton, near Cork and Waterford, were but cells of one in Bath. The Priory of Kilcumin, in Tipperary, was a branch of the Abbey of Glastonbury, and recruited its inmates from thence. Dunbrody Abbey, in County Wexford, founded by Hervey de Montmorency, was connected with that of Wildewas in Shropshire. Its last abbot, Alexander Devereux, conformed at the Reformation, and became Bishop of Ferns. Indeed, splendid monastic buildings continued to be erected almost to the eve of their dissolution. That of Moyne, County Mayo, was built as late as 1460, within two miles of that of Rossak, which had been deserted little more than half a century after its erection.

The self-indulgence of the monastic orders abroad, and the necessity for more active agents in support of the Church against the Albigenses and other sects, called new religious orders into being in the thirteenth century. These were the Mendicant Friars. They were destined to exercise an immense influence throughout the whole Church—an influence which at first seemed wholly for good. They very early found their way into England and Ireland, and their history is for a time bound up with that of the Church. It may be well therefore to give a brief account of these orders.

The four principal branches of the Mendicants were the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and

Augustines, or, as they were generally called, Minors, Black Friars, White Friars, and Grey Friars. One general characteristic common to all friars, by which, at least in their earlier days, they were distinguished from ordinary monks, was their vow of absolute poverty. The property of the monks belonged to the community in common; but the Mendicants renounced property of all kinds.

In spite of the vow of poverty, their institutions became wealthy and luxurious in after times. St. Francis of Assisi, despising the luxury of the monks, founded the order which bears his name. By a life of poverty and unwearied zeal he hoped to bring back many to the faith. The name "Minors" was taken as a mark of humility. Amongst their rules that of absolute obedience to the Pope obtained for them the cordial approbation of the Pontiff. The vow of obedience was required from all; but in one branch of the order—the third estate of friars—specially formed to include the working-classes, the vow of celibacy was not demanded, nor were its members required to leave their ordinary occupations.

The Dominicans, or Preachers, as they were called, took their name from a Spanish monk named Dominic, who was the most active of their founders. This order was founded primarily to counteract the growing anti-papal and heretical opinions prevalent amongst all ranks of society in Spain and South Gaul. Their skill in preaching and in refuting the arguments on which the opinions they opposed were founded, drew to the order many able and zealous

men. They adopted the rule of St. Francis as to poverty, and also received the sanction of the Pope. As champions of orthodoxy they became the chief directors of the Inquisition, which was permanently established at the Council of Toulouse (1229).

The Carmelites took their name from Mount Carmel, where the first branch of their order was founded. The Augustines originated in Spain, and were so called because they at first adopted the rule of Augustine, though they abandoned it in the following century.

The Franciscans and Dominicans were the most prominent orders, and, in spite of mutual jealousies, generally supported each other against the monastic and parochial clergy, whose opposition they frequently aroused. In later times the most learned doctors in the universities and professional schools belonged to these orders. Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Occam were of their number.

These friars, with their coarse gowns, rope belts, and bare feet, travelled from place to place preaching and teaching the simple truths of Christianity, as well as counteracting what they believed to be error. They acknowledged no bishop but the Pope, and the Pope claimed the power of sending them where he wished without the concurrence of the bishop or clergy. These irregular ministrations of the friars were very popular with the people, and equally unpopular with the monks and clergy.

On their first arrival in England, two Augustinian friars, on their way to London, sought shelter with

the monks of Abingdon. Their strange appearance and condition, as with foreign accent they asked for hospitality, suggested to the porter that they were travelling jugglers. The whole monastery resolved to bring them in and witness their feats and tricks, as a relief to the monotony of their lives. But the disappointment was too great for the monks to bear quietly, so they drove the poor friars from their gates to find lodging for the night as best they might. Such was their first welcome in England. These mendicant orders were for a time instrumental in promoting intellectual culture and an independent spirit which materially helped forward the demand for religious reform. Their early piety and unselfish zeal, however, gradually died out, and the friars became noted for their insolence and hypocrisy. The Irish Church specially suffered from them in their more degenerate days. Still loyal to the Pope, and secure of his approbation in their efforts to advance his interests, they harassed the clergy, usurped parochial duties, and interfered with diocesan organization.

Richard Fitz-Ralph, known also from the place of his birth as Richard of Dundalk, was educated at Oxford, and consecrated at Exeter as Primate of Armagh in 1347. He was one of the most persistent opponents of the friars, whom he accused of habitually granting absolution to persons excommunicated for crime, and of interfering in other ways with the discipline of the Church. The Pope, however, sided with the friars, and summoned the

Primate to Avignon,¹ where he died. In describing the conduct of the friars to the Pope and Cardinals, the Primate gave an interesting picture of their mode of life. He asserted "that scarce could any man, great or mean, of the clergy or laity eat his meat, but such kind of beggars would be at his elbow, not like other poor folks humbly craving alms at the gate or door . . . by begging, but without shame, intruding into courts and houses, and lodging there; where, without any inviting at all, they eat and drink what they can find among them; and, not content with that, carry away with them either wheat or meal."

¹ For seventy years (1305-1376) the Popes were exiled from Rome, and resided at Avignon, in France. During about two and a-half years of that time there was no Pope at all, owing to disputes between the Cardinals. For forty years (1378-1417) after the return of the Popes to Rome there were two Popes, and once three Popes at a time—each recognised by some following. The schism occasioned by these rival Popes helped to stimulate the desire for reform.

CHAPTER XIX.

IRELAND IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

THE history of Ireland during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is almost an unbroken record of anarchy and misrule.

The English power continued to decline, until only the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth were included within the Pale. No adequate effort to subdue the country was made. Descendants of the old Irish chieftains, like the O'Moores of Leix, succeeded in retaking the lands formerly held by their ancestors. These, like the English lords of the palatinates, ruled their territories as independent princes. In England the power of the nobility was gradually giving place to that of the king, though not until after the Wars of the Roses had well-nigh destroyed the old aristocracy, did the authority of the Crown become paramount. But in Ireland there was practically no central authority until the time of the Tudors. Hence the multitude of independent princes, whose constant quarrels retarded all social progress. Nothing perhaps can give a better idea of the condition of Ireland in the latter part of the fourteenth century than the fact that on Richard II's visit to it no less than seventy-five such princes did homage to him, though their submission lasted only

while he was in the country. The Anglo-Saxons and Normans had now well-nigh blended into one great people. In Ireland the same blending of races was also gradually going on. Descendants of the old English settlers married amongst the Irish, and adopted their language and customs. Some of the nobles even discarded the English laws, and assumed the Irish dress and mode of life. These were known as the "degenerate English," and were more Irish than the Irish themselves. But this process of amalgamation of races was discouraged, and every effort made to maintain the distinction between Irish natives and English settlers, and raise a barrier between them. With this object the Statute of Kilkenny was passed in 1367, when Lionel, Duke of Clarence, was Deputy. It forbade an Englishman to use the Irish language; to marry into an Irish family; to use the Brehon laws; or to put an Irishman into a monastery or parish within the English Pale. This Act was frequently renewed, and the fatal policy of treating the Irish people as enemies long continued. Hence the continued growth of racial hatred, which at the time of the Reformation, was increased by religious animosity.

The rebellion in Scotland, in Edward II's reign, gave the Irish some hope of casting off the English yoke. They chose Edward Bruce as their king, and crowned him in Dundalk. For nearly four years (1315-1318) the country suffered fearfully from the insurrection, which most of the Irish bishops and

clergy actively supported, though those of the Pale remained loyal to the English. The death of Bruce in the Battle of Faugher put an end to their hopes. The native Irish had appealed to the Pope to sanction their election of Bruce as their king. In that appeal they traced all their misfortunes to Pope Adrian IV, who gave the kingdom to Henry II, and asked him to help them out of "the miserable condition to which the Pope of Rome had reduced" them. But, as usual, the Pope sided with England against the Irish people, and caused the clergy in the Pale to read a sentence of excommunication against all the clergy of every order who supported the cause of Edward Bruce.

We have not many authentic records as to the condition of the Church during these troubled centuries. The few glimpses we get of her work and inner life do not convey much that is satisfactory. The same corruptions in doctrine and laxity in practice which marked the Roman Church of that age in other lands, are also found in the Irish Church. If we except the opposition to the begging friars, in the case of the Primate Richard of Dundalk, and his efforts to promote the study of the Holy Scriptures, there does not seem to have been any movement in Ireland, either against the doctrine or practice of the Church, at all similar to that of the Wickliffites or Lollards in the English Church. We occasionally, however, find instances of restiveness under the exercise of the Papal supremacy.

A brief account of Richard Ledred, Bishop of

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Ossory, will help to throw some light on the condition of the Irish Church in the early part of the fourteenth century. He had been a minor canon of London, and on the nomination of the Pope was consecrated at Avignon, 1318. His patron John XXII issued a bull against sorcery and witchcraft, directing such cases to be tried in the ecclesiastical courts. They had hitherto been under the jurisdiction of the secular courts in England. The Lady Alice Ketler and some others were accused of witchcraft, and the bishop summoned them to his spiritual court. They denied the jurisdiction of the bishop's court, and the Lord Chancellor refused to issue a writ for their arrest. The bishop, however, determined to proceed against them, and he was thrown into prison by the Seneschal of Kilkenny, Arnold le Poer. On his release from the castle in Kilkenny, he went to the city courthouse in his episcopal robes, attended by monks and clergy, and demanded the aid of the secular arm to bring the heretics to justice. But he was ejected from the courthouse, and the Papal decretals which he exhibited were scoffed at. He then placed the diocese under an interdict, and also excommunicated the Lord Chancellor; for which proceeding, and the attempted interference with the royal prerogative, he incurred the censure of the Lords Justices and the Archbishop of Dublin. He succeeded, however, in having the accused convicted of heresy, and some of them were burned outside the city. The Lady Alice and others escaped. Further accusations of heresy were brought against those who

had opposed the bishop, and they were thrown into prison. One of them, Wm. Outlaw, was condemned, but released on his undertaking to cover the whole roof of the cathedral with lead. The bishop did much to improve and beautify the cathedral, the building of which had been completed about fifty years before, in 1270; though the foundation had been laid 100 years previously, when the See was removed from Aghaboe to Kilkenny. He also built the palace near it with materials from three churches outside the walls which he had been permitted to remove.

About the same time others also suffered for heresy. An Irish gentleman named Adam Duff was burned on Hoggin (now College) Green, near Dublin.

These proceedings were very unpopular in Ireland, and the Bishop of Ossory received little support from his brother prelates in his zeal for carrying out the instructions of Pope John XXII. They were indignant that a foreign monk, as they called him, should come hither to represent the Island of Saints as a nest of heretics, and plague them with bulls which they never heard of before. The conduct of the bishop himself was not above suspicion, and many accusations—some even for heresy—were made against him, but he escaped to the Continent, where he remained for nine years.

The low state of education in the country at the period now under consideration occupied the attention of some of the more enlightened bishops and clergy. The performance of "Miracle Plays," or the representation of Scriptural subjects, was fre-

quently adopted in Dublin and elsewhere as a means of instructing the people. The Primate Fitz-Ralph sent some of his priests to study at Oxford, but they returned, not being able to get a Bible there. John Lech, Archbishop of Dublin, and his successor, Alexander Becknor, both tried to establish an Irish University in connection with St. Patrick's Cathedral. In their scheme there was no provision for professors of secular subjects ; and it gradually died, though it was supported by Edward II, who established a chair of Divinity in it. An attempt to found a University at Drogheda, about the middle of the fifteenth century, was equally unsuccessful.

CHAPTER XX.

ROMAN JURISDICTION ABOLISHED.

THE overthrow of the Papal supremacy in England and Ireland was the chief contribution of Henry VIII towards the great work of the Reformation.

That supremacy had often been arrogantly asserted. King John was forced to resign his kingdom into the hands of Innocent III, to receive it back as the Pope's vassal. The English kings and people, however, frequently opposed Papal usurpations and interference.

The Statute of Provisors and other Parliamentary enactments in the reign of Edward III, made it a penal offence to procure presentations of benefices from the Pope, and outlawed all who carried any cause by appeal to the Court of Rome.

A further step was taken in Richard II's reign. The Statute of Præmunire, then passed, prohibited the acknowledgment of any jurisdiction of a foreign power within the kingdom in matters which belonged of right to the king. National pride forbade submission to the persistent encroachments of the Papal Court in the temporal as well as in the spiritual affairs of the Church. The growing intelligence of the

people rebelled against foreign interference. Hence Henry VIII was enabled not only to extend the scope of the previous Acts on the subject, but also to abolish entirely Papal supremacy in his kingdom. Every bishop in England sanctioned his action, except Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. It was the first great step towards the Reformation; and, like the enactments of former reigns against Papal usurpations, it was passed more from political than religious motives.

Henry VIII was then, and always remained, a Roman Catholic. He had obtained from Leo X the title of "Defender of the Faith," in recognition of his book in defence of the seven sacraments against Luther; and his doctrinal opinions do not seem to have materially changed with his repudiation of the Pope's authority. Anne Askew and others were burned in his reign for denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation; while at the same time others suffered a like penalty for denying the Royal Supremacy.

In Ireland there was but little, if any, demand for Church reform. The majority of the Irish clergy were very ignorant, and the laity were as a rule rude and uncultured. The doctrine of Papal Supremacy was useful to the bishops and higher clergy in furthering their own plans and authority. Yet neither bishops nor clergy hesitated to oppose the Pope when he acted against their wishes. We saw this during the insurrection of Edward Bruce. And in Henry VII's reign the same spirit of opposition was shown. Every

bishop in Ireland, except those of Ossory, Cashel, Tuam, and Clogher, supported the rebellion of the impostor, Lambert Simnel, though he was denounced by the Pope. They crowded his Court, and crowned him King in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, with a crown taken from a statue of the Virgin Mary, then in St. Mary's Abbey. John Payne, Bishop of Meath, preached the coronation sermon, after which Simnel was borne in triumph to the Castle on the shoulders of an Anglo-Irish giant.

Henry, when he turned his attention to the Irish portion of his dominions, had no difficulty in inducing the bishops and clergy there to renounce the Pope's jurisdiction, as had already been done in England.

Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, was killed in the rebellion headed by Lord Thomas FitzGerald. The vacancy thus created was filled by the appointment of George Browne in 1533. He was a man of learning and piety, educated at Oxford, and had held the position of Provincial of the Order of Augustinian Friars in England when the monasteries were suppressed. On the nomination of the king he was duly elected by the Chapter of Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's Cathedrals. He was consecrated in England by Archbishop Cranmer and two other bishops, according to the usual Roman ritual. As the Papal supremacy had already been abolished in England, he received the insignia of his dignity, not from the Pope, but from the authorities of the English

Church. Thus, though a Roman Catholic bishop, he came to Ireland free from any pledge or obligation to the Roman Pontiff.

The episcopate of Archbishop Browne was an eventful one. It lasted twenty years, till his deposition on the accession of Queen Mary. He was favourably inclined towards doctrinal reforms, and zealously promoted the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy in the Church of Ireland. In this he was opposed by George Cromer, Primate of Armagh, a man whose piety gave him great influence, especially amongst the clergy of his own province.

On the advice of the Archbishop of Dublin, a Parliament was called in 1536. This Parliament, notwithstanding considerable opposition from the Primate and some of the clergy, passed several Acts tending to free the Church from all papal control, while subjecting it to that of the State, in matters temporal and spiritual. It (*a*) abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope in Ireland; (*b*) established the supremacy of "the king, his heirs, and successors" as "supreme head on earth of the Church in Ireland;" (*c*) forbade appeals to Rome on any matters; (*d*) prohibited Peter's Pence, and granted to the king the first-fruits of all Church preferments and the twentieth part of profits on spiritual promotions; (*e*) ordered schools to be established to teach the English tongue; (*f*) decreed that parishes should only be filled by clergy who could speak English, unless such could not be had;

and (g) enacted that the "bidding of the beads" ¹ and the preaching of the Word should be in the English language.

The repudiation of Roman supremacy was universal throughout the country. The "native Irish," the "degenerate" English, as well as the Lords of the Pale, all subscribed their acceptance of the royal supremacy. Even O'Neill of Ulster, and Desmond of Connaught, repudiated the usurped authority of the Pope. During Archbishop Browne's visitation through several counties in the following year, he was everywhere cordially received: crowds of clergy and others attended his preaching. Even in Munster, the most Irish district, two archbishops and eight bishops met him and took the oath of Royal supremacy in Clonmel.

Thus all Ireland was practically unanimous in sanctioning the action of Parliament in which their

¹ "Bidding the beads," that is, directing the people what they should pray for. "The Form of the Beads" was ordered to be read before the sermon. It directed the people to "pray for the Universal Catholic Church, both quick and dead; especially for the Church of England and Ireland;" also for the king. It asserted the abolition of the jurisdiction "of long time usurped by the Bishop of Rome," and desired the people to deface the Pope's name from their Primers and other books, and not to believe in his promises to forgive sins, "when of a truth no man can forgive sins, but God only." It ends by urging all to put their "confidence and trust in our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is gentil and loving, and requireth nothing of us when we have offended Him, but that we should repent and forsake our sins, and believe steadfastly that He is Christ, . . . and that through Him, and by Him and none other, we shall have remission of our sins, and *pena et culpa* according to His promise. . . ." Thus far Reformed doctrine was inculcated from the pulpit in Henry VIII's reign.

co-religionists—for all engaged in the matter were equally members of the Roman Communion—had repudiated a papal usurpation of authority over the Irish Church—an authority which, though not without occasional protests, had been submitted to since the acceptance of the palls in the twelfth century—a period of over three and a-half centuries.

The title "Lord of Ireland," by which the kings were generally called, seemed to some to indicate a kind of inferiority, as it was thought to suggest the existence of a higher feudal power. Hence a Parliament was called in 1541 which enacted that henceforth the monarch's title should be "King of Ireland." The proclamation of this title in St. Patrick's Cathedral, after Mass was duly celebrated by the Archbishop of Dublin, was received with all the usual signs of popular rejoicing. This Parliament was attended by native chiefs for the first time, and all renewed their allegiance to the king. It was a time of much promise. The Pope, however, made strenuous efforts to stir up sedition, and recover his lost power. He commanded Primate Cromer to absolve all who wished to repudiate their oaths of submission to the king, and to circulate a vow of obedience to "the holy lord the Pope of Rome and his successors in all things, as well spiritual as temporal." Through the Bishop of Metz he succeeded in tampering with the allegiance of O'Neill, and flattered him into proclaiming himself the champion of the papal cause.

The death of Primate Cromer occurred in 1543. He had been a steady opponent to all reforms. It was therefore hoped that the king would appoint as his successor some one favourable to the Reformation. Yet he selected George Dowdall, who had been Prior of the Friary at Ardee, and was a zealous advocate of the papal system. It is difficult to account for his appointment to the primacy, unless it arose from the lukewarmness which in later years the king showed towards the Reformation. Or possibly the king may have been deceived as to the principles of Dowdall, who does not seem to have acted very straightforwardly. For, having accepted the primacy from the king, to whom he took the oath of supremacy, we find him trying—though ineffectually—to obtain the sanction and nomination of the Pope. The Pope nominated Robert Wauchob as Primate, but he was never acknowledged as such, nor permitted to exercise any function in the diocese.

There was but little active hostility between the various sections of the country during the latter part of Henry VIII's reign. But this tranquillity depended more on the power of the Lord Deputy than on the growth of more kindly feelings. The distinctions of "Irish enemies," "English rebels," and the English of the Pale, still existed. Old animosities between the races were not allowed to die, and the Pope's agents used them to further their own ends. The native Irish still regarded the English as intruders, and their priests contrived gradually to make them look upon all steps taken towards reform

in the Church as identified with English interests. Hence they opposed any change suggested by England, and clung to their system of worship, to which they thus gave a political significance that it has not yet lost. The fact that their original national independence was bartered away by Pope Adrian, as the price of bringing the ancient independent Church of Ireland under the Roman yoke, was forgotten, as it too often is by many Irishmen at the present day.

Rome had hitherto in every instance taken the part of the English against the native Irish. When she had power in Ireland, never once had she shown sympathy with the Irish people if English interests were involved. But when that power was wrested from her at the Reformation, and she sought their aid to gain it back, then she turned to them, stirred up the racial antipathies which were gradually dying out, and utilized them for her own purposes.

In this she would have been wholly unsuccessful had it not been for the folly which neglected to present the Christian truths of the Reformed Faith in a language understood by the people.

CHAPTER XXI.

DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

THE social and religious condition of the people at the dawn of the Reformation in Ireland was very unsatisfactory. Many of the priests did not understand the meaning of the words in the Latin Mass which they endeavoured to read, and the laity generally were without education. O'Neill of Ulster could not write his name. His submission to Henry VIII, which is preserved as a State Paper, is signed only with his mark. Amongst the bishops and higher clergy were men of learning and piety, who, as a rule, were Englishmen, or had been educated in England. The condition to which the Church of Ireland was reduced during the three and a-half centuries of Roman supremacy was truly a sad one. The laxity of administration may be conceived when such orders as the following were found necessary, viz. :—"That laymen nor boys be not admitted to ecclesiastical perferments, and that such as be in already be deprived;" and "that all those who have dignities or benefices ecclesiastical shall take orders and reside."

The churches in many parishes were in ruins, and in others Mass was seldom said. This state of things arose not only from the ignorance and turbulence of

clergy and people, but also from the avarice and luxury which had become a characteristic of most of the monasteries. As an instance of the former, the destruction of the Church of Friendstown, in County Wicklow, may be mentioned. A band of Irish natives set fire to it when an English congregation of about eight persons of all ages were at worship, and all perished in the flames. They begged the life of their priest ; but when he appeared at the door, he was immediately stabbed to death, and the Host trampled under foot.

The monasteries had long ceased to answer the ends for which they were originally founded. They were no longer outlets, as of old, for individual piety ; but had become in many cases houses of luxury and indolence. They had accumulated vast wealth, and throughout all Europe the vicious life of the monastic orders had alienated the goodwill with which in former days they had been regarded.

In England one-fifth of the rental of the kingdom was in their hands, and a large proportion of their revenues belonged of right to the parochial clergy. It was so, too, in Ireland. The lords, or the Crown, or the bishops, or the Roman Court, allowed the monasteries from time to time to appropriate the parochial tithes and endowments of parishes. These they received on the condition that they were to become responsible for the parochial duties. To such parishes the monasteries sent either one of their own number or a secular priest as vicar. They gave him as little as possible of the parochial

revenues, and he did as little as possible in return. The parishes also frequently suffered from undue delay in filling vacancies.

In Henry VII's reign Pope Innocent VIII, moved by the persistent reports of the corruption of the religious houses in England, issued a Commission in 1489 to Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Papal legate, to inquire into their condition. The report of that Commission revealed a sad state of moral depravity in some of the monastic foundations, but no steps were taken to remedy it.

In Henry VIII's reign, Wolsey, as papal legate, commenced a visitation in 1523, in consequence of the general complaint against their character, and received from the Pope a Bull authorizing the suppression of about forty monasteries. From their revenues Christ Church College in Oxford was founded. A more general visitation of the monasteries was made in 1536, when the Commissioners reported such a state of vice in many of the smaller houses that Parliament indignantly ordered their dissolution. The larger houses were, as a rule, better conducted; but they, too, after a time were dissolved.

Having established the royal supremacy in Ireland, Henry's next step was to suppress the Irish monasteries, and, as in England, their lands became vested in the Crown. Though the Parliament had not authorized any compensation to the dispossessed abbots and monks, yet Henry granted them pensions. These varied from £266 to £6, besides a small sum granted to each for immediate wants. The pensions to the nuns averaged £4 each. These sums

represented about ten times their present value in money. This spoliation in a great many instances was a kind of retributive justice, for the monks, as we have seen, had appropriated to their own use much of the tithes which of right belonged to the parochial clergy. But in no instance did Henry return these tithes to the parishes. They were completely secularized. Most of the lands were granted to laymen or bishops as personal gifts to favourite courtiers—just as at the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, in 1871, her property was seized and secularized; none of it was applied to religious purposes, except that portion which was given to the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic bodies. The effect of giving the parochial tithes included in the conventual revenues to various laymen was to leave many parishes without a priest to conduct Divine Service in them. For the tithes thus impropriated, as it was called, did not usually carry with them the same obligation of appointing vicars as had been the case when they were appropriated to monastic foundations. No attempt was made, even in Mary's reign, to recall the patents by which these Church lands passed into the hands of laymen. On the contrary, the Queen herself granted such patents—as, for example, that which conferred on James Duke of Ormonde the lands of the Cistercian Abbey of Jerpoint, in County Kilkenny. This alienation of Church property to monastic foundations or individuals impoverished many parishes. It originated under papal supremacy; but its evil effects were long felt in the Church of Ireland after that supremacy had been abolished.

CHAPTER XXII.

DOCTRINAL REFORMS.

THE substitution of the supremacy of the Crown in matters ecclesiastical for that of the Roman Pontiff did not in itself involve any doctrinal changes. It, however, rendered such changes more easily carried out, though the doctrinal reforms effected during the reign of Henry VIII were but few. In the "Six Articles" put forth by the authority of the English Convocation, Transubstantiation and the other distinctively Roman doctrines were insisted on. An important change, however, was made in the Church Service. The reading of Holy Scripture in English was enjoined, and the Processional Litany, which for 150 years had been in the hands of the people in English, was revised by the omission of a long list of saints, and brought almost to its present form. The publication of the *King's Primer* also afforded the people some means of instruction.

In Ireland, however, no effort to instruct the people seems to have had the formal sanction of any Church body or Synod. George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, was most diligent in preaching, and was ably seconded in his efforts by the Bishops of Meath, Limerick, Kildare, Leighlin, and Clonfert, the latter

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of whom preached in Irish to those who did not understand English. Images and relics were removed from the churches, and the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments were placed on the walls. This, however, was not done without considerable opposition, inasmuch as the possession of relics had become a source of income to some of the churches. A "Form of Beads," or Prayers, was circulated by the Archbishop of Dublin, and ordered to be read in the churches. It contained not only prayers in English, but also directions as to what should be prayed for, as well as a short address, urging all to trust in the Saviour. In some churches, however, the reading of the Beads was badly received. For example, in St. Audöen's Church, in Dublin, when they were being read, one of the clergy with the choir began to sing, and so rendered the reading unintelligible. On the whole, there was but little progress made in Ireland in Reformation principles during the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII. This was owing partly to the lack of efficient teachers, and partly to the indifference of the king to doctrinal reform.

Much, however, was done during the short reign of Edward VI (28th January, 1547, to 6th July, 1553) to advance the Reformation in England. The desire for a Liturgical Service in the language of the people was accomplished, and a more definite effort made for their religious instruction. An exposition of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and the doctrine of the Sacraments, known as

Cranmer's Catechism, was published. The First Book of Homilies was ordered to be read on Sundays, with an exposition of the Gospels, and "the Order of Communion," in which the cup was restored to the laity, was circulated in English for the use of the people, in addition to the Latin Mass. Thus the laity were not wholly dependent on the individual opinions of their parish priests, or entirely ignorant as to the nature of the public Services.

But the great work of Edward VI's reign was the publication of the Book of Common Prayer. It was not composed of entirely new materials, but was founded on primitive models, and embodied much of the existing liturgies. It adhered to what was ancient in them, but discarded the erroneous doctrines with which they had gradually been corrupted. Many of its prayers are translations of those which have been in use over 1,200 years.

There was no one Service-book, or "Use," common to the different branches of the Roman Church. In England each bishop had the right to arrange the forms of worship in his own diocese. There were therefore various Uses in the different dioceses, as those of Sarum, Lincoln, York, &c. The Sarum Use, drawn up in 1085 by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, was that generally used in the South of England, and probably, too, in Ireland, though we have but little information as to the early Irish liturgies.

The principal Latin service-books in use in England were—

The Breviary, containing Psalms, Hymns, Lessons, &c.

The Missal, or Order of Celebration of the Holy Communion.

The Manual, containing the Occasional Offices which could be performed by a priest, such as the Baptismal Service.

The Pontifical, containing those Services which could only be performed by a bishop, as Ordination, Confirmation, &c.

From a revision and re-arrangement of these ancient Service-books, whose origin reached back over 1,000 years, the Book of Common Prayer was compiled. It was issued under the twofold authority of Convocation and Parliament, and read for the first time in England on Whitsunday, 1549. The Act of Uniformity of the same year required it to be used in all churches instead of the Latin Mass. It was not, however, till nearly two years afterwards that it was introduced into Ireland.

No Parliament met in Ireland during the reign of Edward VI. Sir Anthony St. Leger was then Lord Deputy. To him the king issued a command to summon the bishops and clergy of the Irish Church, in order to take the necessary steps for the adoption of the Prayer Book. The Synod assembled on 1st March, 1551, and the First Prayer Book of Edward VI was adopted, notwithstanding the opposition of Primate Dowdall, one of whose objections to it was that "then shall every illiterate fellow read Mass." It was used for the first time in Ireland on Easter Day, 1553, in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. The Lord Deputy, mayor, and other city officials attended the service.

In 1550 a new Ordinal, or "Form and Manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," was drawn up.

The more extreme reformers, influenced by those from the Continent who had sought an asylum in England, as Peter Martyr and Bucer, succeeded in obtaining a revision of the Prayer Book. The second Act of Uniformity, which appointed the use of this Second Prayer Book of Edward VI in 1552, declared explicitly that the former book contained nothing but "what was agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church."

The principal doctrinal difference between the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward consisted in omitting from the Communion Office the Invocation of the Holy Ghost on the elements in the Prayer of Consecration, the Prayer of Oblation, and the direction to mix water with the wine. In the delivery of the elements the second clause of our present form was substituted for the first. In Baptism exorcism, trine immersion, the use of the chrisom or white robe, and the anointing, were omitted; and in the Burial Service prayers for the dead were discontinued, as was also the direction for the administration of Holy Communion at funerals.

This Second Prayer Book was not adopted by the Church of Ireland till after its subsequent revision in Queen Elizabeth's reign; nor was any attempt made to translate the First Prayer Book into Irish, though such a step was contemplated at its adoption. The first book ever printed in Dublin was an edition of the Prayer Book in 1551.

CHAPTER XXIII.

JOHN BALE, BISHOP OF OSSORY.

THE question as to precedence had often arisen between the Sees of Armagh and Dublin. The opposition of the Primate Dowdall to the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer, and to the Reformation generally, induced the king and council in England to transfer the title of Primate of "all" Ireland to Archbishop Browne of Dublin. Dowdall withdrew beyond the seas, and the king appointed to the vacant bishopric Hugh Goodacre, who had been chaplain to the Princess Elizabeth. He conferred at the same time the Bishopric of Ossory on John Bale (1552).

A short account of his history will suffice to present an interesting picture of the conditions under which the work of the Reformation was carried on in Ireland in those early times.

Bale has left a graphic, though coarsely expressed, account of his experiences in Ireland during his short episcopate, in a small volume called *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande, his persecutions in the same, and finall delyverance*.

John Bale is known as an author of some repute. He was brought up in a Carmelite convent, and

educated at Cambridge. Twice he suffered imprisonment in England during the reign of Henry VIII for his zeal in the cause of the Reformation ; and, in order to escape further persecution, he withdrew to Germany for eight years. He had been tutor to Edward VI, and was Rector of Bishopstoke when the king pressed upon him the Bishopric of Ossory. Starting with his wife and one servant, he had to remain nearly a month in Bristol before he could get a passage to Ireland. At length, after a voyage of two days and two nights, he reached Waterford. The "heathenish behaviours" of the people, and the idolatrous manner in which the Communion Service was performed in the cathedral, did not impress him very favourably. On his way to Dublin he passed a night at Knocktopher, in his new Diocese, at the house of his commissary. There he met the parish priest, who was a son of the last prior of the White Friars, formerly of that town.

Hitherto the bishops had been consecrated in Ireland according to the Roman Pontifical. Bale refused to be so consecrated, though the Primate Goodacre would have accepted it. They were both, therefore, consecrated according to the new English Ordinal, though its introduction into Ireland had not as yet been authorized. The consecrating bishops were the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Kildare and Down. During the Consecration ceremony a new difficulty arose. Bale refused to communicate with the stamped wafer bread which was still being used in Ireland, and the

service had to be suspended till common bread was procured—a proceeding in itself scarcely legal, as the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI had not yet been adopted in Ireland.

But Bale's violent temperament and bitter intolerance against all who opposed him led him to undervalue the importance of introducing no changes in doctrine or ritual without due legal formality, and induced him to consider those who acted with more prudence as being deficient in zeal.

Kilkenny was then one of the most important towns in Ireland, and the new bishop was received in it with every sign of popular rejoicing. He seems, however, to have been much disappointed in his clergy, of whose moral condition, licentiousness, and opposition he bitterly complains: "Helpers I found none amongst my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number." His faithful preaching, however, began to tell. He soon gathered around him a band of young men. These he taught diligently, and trained them to perform "miracle plays," which he composed for them. By means of these he hoped to teach the people, notwithstanding their utter ignorance, something of the Gospel truths. The scarcity of teachers and faithful ministers was one of the greatest hindrances to the Reformation in Ireland. The king died about six months after the Consecration of Bale; and when the news of his death reached Kilkenny, it was received by the priests with every demonstration of joy. "The priests were as pleasantly disposed as might be,

and went by heaps from tavern to tavern to seek the best Bob-Davy and aqua vitæ, which are their special drinks there." On the same day, in the absence of the bishop, Lord Mountgarret and the Justice of Kilkenny went to the cathedral, and got the priests to say Mass for them after the Romish manner.

In Kilkenny, as elsewhere, the death of the monarch, giving apparently temporary relief from the fear of the law, was the signal for the usual rebellion and outrage. It was an opportunity for the lawless. The murders and outrages which disgraced the country cannot therefore all be attributed to religious bigotry, except perhaps amongst the more illiterate clergy. The citizens as a rule were favourable to the bishop and the new order of things.

Queen Mary was proclaimed in Kilkenny on 20th August, 1553. The bishop refused to be coerced into wearing the Roman episcopal vestments at the procession. "What ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests about wearing the cope, crozier, and mitre in the procession." But, as the bishop was steadfast in his refusal, "two disguised priests, one bearing the mitre before me, and the other the crozier," joined the procession, and so "making three procession pageants of one." At the Market Cross the bishop preached on the obedience due to worldly powers. Afterwards, in order to instruct the people in the doctrine of the Reformers, "the young men in the forenoon played a tragedy of God's promises in the old law at the Market Cross, with

organ-playing and songs very aptly ; in the afternoon again they played a comedy of St. John Baptist's preaching, of Christ's baptizings, and of His temptation in the wilderness, to the small contentation of the priests and other Papists there." The Queen's love for Romanism was known, and the excitement was great as to when she would order its restoration. Some were for seizing the churches at once ; and in Kilkenny it was said the bishop would be compelled to recant ; but on the following Thursday, St. Bartholomew's Day, he boldly ascended the pulpit, and preached a long discourse on the text, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ." The same evening he dined with the sovereign (mayor) of the town, "a sober, wise, and godly man," and after dinner some of the town priests came to the bishop, and held a long controversy with him concerning purgatory and prayers for the dead, after which, being wearied out, he went to his residence at Holmes Court. The bishop was now threatened with violence. His property was taken off his lands, and it was necessary to take precautions for his personal safety. On the last day of August the clergy went to the cathedral and restored the "whole heap of superstition of the Bishop of Rome." "They rung all the bells of the cathedral, monasteries, and parish churches ; they flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple with smilings and laughings most dissolutely, the justice himself being therewith offended ; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy water

stock, cross, and censers ; they mustered forth in procession most gorgeously, all the town over with *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, and the rest of the Latin litany, . . . for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun." As time wore on, the lawlessness became more serious. The bishop writes—"On the 8th September five of my household servants, Richd. Foster, a deacon ; Richd. Headley, John Cage, an Irish horse-groom, and a young maid of sixteen years of age, went out to make hay about half a mile off, betwixt eight and nine o'clock, after they had served God according to the day ; and as they were come to the entrance of the meadow, the cruel murderers, to the number of a score, leaped out of their lurking bushes with swords and with darts, and cowardly slew them all, unarmed and unweaponed, without mercy."

On the news reaching Kilkenny, the mayor roused the citizens, and, with 100 horsemen and 300 foot, hastened out to Holmes Court to rescue the bishop. He returned to Kilkenny with them the same evening, "the young men singing psalms and godly songs all the way in rejoyce of my deliverance." He was also welcomed by the people, who "in great numbers stood on both sides of the way, both within the gates and without, with candles lighted in their hands, shouting out the praises of God for delivering me from the hands of these murderers." The priests, however, do not seem to have sympathized much with their bishop, as they declared that the whole was a judgment on him for allowing his

servants to work on the holiday of Our Lady's Nativity.

Owing to this and other warnings, Bale found it necessary to leave Kilkenny. With the assistance of friends, he reached Dublin, and at length found his way to Switzerland.

While sojourning in Ireland during his short and stormy episcopate, Bale does not seem to have been very favourably impressed by the character of some of his co-reformers; nor does he shrink from recording, in his own coarse way, what he thought of them from the reports he had heard. Of Archbishop Browne, who had been so zealous under Henry VIII in advancing the Reformation, and who was also deprived of his bishopric by Queen Mary, he speaks as an "epicurous archbishop," "a dissembling proselite, a very pernicious papist." And he adds, as "for his preachings twice in the year, of the ploughman in winter, by *exit qui seminat*, and of the shepherd in summer, by *ego sum pastor bonus*, are now so well known by rote of every gossip in Dublin, that afore he cometh up into the pulpit, they can tell his sermon."

Of another prelate whom he calls "the drunken Bishop of Galway,"¹ he writes in his *Vocacyon*: "The

¹ By the "Bishop of Galway" Bale, no doubt, means the Archbishop of Tuam, who was at that time Christopher Bodkin. He held the See under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. Ware states that he was consecrated Bishop of Kilmacduagh in 1534, and on the death of Thomas O'Mullaly in 1536, was translated to the Archbishopric of Tuam, which he held with his former See until his death in 1572. Evidently, therefore, Bale's estimate of his character is exaggerated, his information having probably been obtained from a hostile source.

exercise of this beastly bishop is none other but to gad from town to town over the English parts, confirming young children for twopence apiece, without examination of their Christian belief, contrary to the Christian ordinances of England, and at night to drink all at Bob-Davy and aqua vitae like a man."

As Bale was only about one year in Ireland, and was a man of strong prejudices, who avowedly took some of his information concerning others from hearsay, there is probably some exaggeration in his description of personal character. Yet there can be no doubt that some of the Roman ecclesiastics who so readily conformed in the early days of the Reformation, were men of indifferent character, and but little superior to their illiterate flocks.

This account of Bale, which presents such a sad picture of the state of religion at that time, may, no doubt, be taken as a sample of the persecution which other bishops also suffered on the accession of Mary, though they have not, like him, left any record of their sufferings. Bale never sought to return to his diocese when peaceable time arrived in Elizabeth's reign, but was content with a prebendal stall in Canterbury Cathedral. Casey, Bishop of Limerick, also fled from the country.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

ON the accession of Mary to the throne of England in 1553, a determined attempt was made to undo the work of the Reformation. Most of the bishops favourable to the Reformed Religion were either at once imprisoned by the Council, or obliged to seek safety in flight. Hence, when the English Convocation and Parliament met, but few opposed the re-introduction of the Roman doctrine and ritual. The abolition of Papal supremacy by the Parliaments of both England and Ireland had been brought about by those who claimed to be loyal sons of the Church of Rome; and in accordance with this, Mary for a time continued to use the title of Supreme Head on Earth of the Churches of England and Ireland. But in the year following her accession, the English Houses of Convocation and Parliament formally accepted the Papal pretensions to jurisdiction within the realm.

Under the influence of the restored Papal authority, and of her husband, Philip II of Spain, Mary determined on exterminating the Reformers. No rank, or age, or sex was spared. Bishops Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, Farrer, and Cranmer were burned at the stake. During the short period of four years, at least 288 persons of all ranks perished in the

flames—martyrs for their faith. The people, seeing such cruelty on the part of those most influenced by the teaching of the Roman Church, naturally recoiled from a religion capable of propagating its doctrines in such fashion.

In Ireland there were as yet no Acts against heresy on the statute books. The same systematic persecution for religion as in England was, therefore, not entered upon for a time ; though, as we have already seen in the case of Bishop Bale and others, there was much individual suffering from isolated acts of violence. The Irish chiefs were more anxious about encroachments upon their ancient privileges and customs than about theological disputes, for Queen Mary dealt with them more harshly than did any previous monarch. The insurrection in Leix and Offaly having been quelled, she confiscated the territories, and planted them with English colonists. In honour of the Queen and King these districts were called Queen's and King's Counties, and their chief towns Maryborough and Philipstown. Sir Anthony St. Leger, who in the previous reign had been engaged in establishing the Reformation, was sent back to Ireland by Mary, with a commission to undo what he had been instrumental in doing. Goodacre, the Primate of Armagh, only lived a few months after his consecration. He died before Mary's accession, and Dowdall, who had left the kingdom, was reinstated in the vacant See, to which at the same time was again attached the title of "Primate of All Ireland." This was a distinct exer-

cise of the Queen's authority as supreme head of the Church, for the Pope had not only never acknowledged Dowdall, but had actually appointed Wauchob as a rival bishop.

One of the first steps taken for the restitution of the Papal religion in Ireland was the issuing of a commission to the Primate, in conjunction with others, to inquire into the case of those prelates who had married. As a result, Staples, Bishop of Meath, was deprived of his See, as were also Archbishop Browne, Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare, and Travers, Bishop of Leighlin. The Bishoprics of Ossory and Limerick were declared vacant, as their bishops had sought refuge abroad. Into the Sees thus said to be vacant were intruded bishops favourable to the restoration of Romanism. Curwen became Archbishop of Dublin, Leverous was made Bishop of Kildare, Walsh was appointed to Meath, Thonory to Ossory, Field to Leighlin, and Lacy to Limerick. Except Curwen, these were all Irishmen, as was also Roland Baron, who had been elected Archbishop of Cashel by the Dean and Chapter.

A Parliament was called in 1556, the first which had met for fourteen years. In this Parliament the English laws against heresy were placed on the Irish statute book. These included those of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V; and gave power to the bishops to arrest anyone suspected of teaching or preaching doctrines contrary to those of the Roman Church, and to hand them over to the secular arm to be burnt if they refused to abjure. The same

Parliament restored the jurisdiction of the Pope in Ireland, and consented to the Crown relinquishing the ecclesiastical property which had come into its possession through the dissolution of the monasteries, if it had not already passed into the possession of private individuals.

The passing of these enactments for the punishment of heresy in the Irish Church, and the severity with which similar Acts were being carried out in England, foreshadowed great troubles to Irish Protestants.

In order to carry out these enactments, the Queen signed a commission, and forwarded it to the Lord Deputy by Dr. Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, who was himself to act as one of the Commissioners. At Chester, where the Dean rested on his journey, the mayor of the city paid a formal visit to the Queen's messenger. The good woman of the house, Elizabeth Edmonds, who was well affected to the Reformed Religion, and had a brother living in Dublin, was greatly distressed when she saw the Dean showing the mayor a small leather box, and heard him boast that he had a commission in it to "lash the heretics of Ireland." When the mayor took his leave, the Dean politely accompanied him downstairs, and Mistress Edmonds immediately opened the box, took out the commission, and put in its place a pack of cards neatly folded in a sheet of paper. Dr. Cole reached Dublin on 7th October, 1558, and Lord FitzWalter, then Lord Deputy, sent for him to attend before the Privy Council. Having made a speech as to the

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cause of his coming, he presented the box to the Lord Deputy, who caused it to be opened, only to find that it contained "nothing, save a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost." The Dean assured them he had received a commission. "Well," said the Lord Deputy, "let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the meantime." The Dean returned at once for another commission; but ere he arrived in England Queen Mary was dead. "And thus," adds Archbishop Browne, who records the incident, "God preserved the Protestants of Ireland." Queen Elizabeth is said to have been so delighted with the story that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds and her husband, and gave her a pension of forty pounds a year during her life for saving Her Majesty's Protestant subjects in Ireland.

CHAPTER XXV.

PAPAL SUPREMACY FINALLY ABOLISHED.

THE reign of Queen Mary had been a disastrous one to the prosperity of Ireland. On Elizabeth's accession she found the whole country in a state of disorder. The great sept of the MacArthys, in the South of Ireland, alone seemed to be at peace, and friendly disposed towards the English Government. The Earl of Sussex had proved himself a capable governor under Mary, and Elizabeth re-appointed him Lord Deputy, and sent him to Ireland "to set up the worship of God as it is in England, and to make such statutes in the next Parliament as had lately been made in England." He faithfully endeavoured to carry out his instructions, though they involved the establishing of the Reformed Religion in the place of the religion of Rome, which he had been instrumental in setting up in the previous reign—just as Sir Anthony St. Leger, who had, as Lord Deputy in the reign of Edward VI, furthered the Reformed faith, was retained by Mary to assist in abolishing it.

Before endeavouring to check the turbulence of the Irish chiefs, it was thought better to arrange the civil government of the Irish Pale, and establish the Reformed Religion on a stable basis. In England the

people generally demanded the Reformation, and welcomed the accession of Elizabeth as a guarantee of religious freedom. In Ireland the ignorance of the mass of the people, and their lack of general education, tended on the whole to make them indifferent as to the change ; but those who opposed the Reformed faith, knowing the sentiments of Elizabeth and the tendency of religious thought in England, did all that was possible to inflame the minds of the Irish people against it. Their hatred of the English was utilized, and when it was shown that the reformation of the Irish Church was desired by the English, this fact was sufficient to make them oppose it without inquiry. Hence, Romanism became for many a political as well as a religious creed. Yet there were others who were anxious to know the truth, and who were favourably disposed towards the Reformed faith ; for, notwithstanding the fact that comparatively few could read, yet within the first two years of Elizabeth's reign a single bookseller in Dublin sold 7,000 copies of the Bible ; and when, in 1560, the Archbishop of York presented a large Bible to each of the cathedrals in Dublin, crowds came to read it or hear it read.

On resuming the reins of government in 1559, Sussex at once summoned a Parliament, which met in the following January. It was called "to set up the worship of God as it is in England," and pass the necessary statutes. The attendance of spiritual peers was therefore very large ; nineteen at least were present—that is, practically every diocese in which

there was a bishop at the time was represented. The Primacy was vacant, as the late Primate, Dowdall, died shortly before Queen Mary, and his successor, Adam Loftus, was not consecrated till March, 1563.

The temporal peers were more opposed to some of the reforms proposed than were the bishops. The Parliament, however, at once repealed all the statutes which in Mary's reign had been passed against heresy and in favour of Romanism. It passed Acts restoring the supremacy of the Crown and abolishing all foreign jurisdiction, and it directed that the oath of supremacy should be taken by all ecclesiastical persons, officers and ministers. An Act of Uniformity was passed requiring all ministers to use the Book of Common Prayer, thus placing the Liturgy of the Church of Ireland on the same basis of parliamentary authority as that of England. The Prayer Book thus authorized was the Second Book of Edward VI, with a few changes made in Elizabeth's reign. The most important change was that made in the words of Administration in the Communion Office. These were arranged as they stand at present by combining the words authorized in the first Prayer Book with those of the second.

Parliament further enacted that when the minister had not knowledge of the English tongue, he might use the Book of Common Prayer in Latin, forbidding at the same time its use in Irish, "as well for difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters." A strange pro-

hibition, and one productive of disastrous results in preventing the Irish people from having the liturgy in the only language they understood. Amongst other statutes passed by the same Parliament during its session of one month, was one abolishing the election of bishops by deans and chapters on receipt of a writ of *congé d'élire*, and investing the Crown with sole authority to nominate to the office by letters patent.

Thus, by the decision of the Parliament of Ireland, did the ancient national Church of Ireland once more assert her independence of papal control, and, under the sanction of the same authority, cast off the errors and superstitions which had clouded her ancient faith, and corrupted the purity of her primitive doctrines. By accepting palls for her Archbishops, 410 years before (1151), she for the first time tacitly yielded her independence to the Roman See, and since the Synod of Cashel (1172), where she renounced her ancient ritual in favour of that of Rome, she had been deprived of her right as a national Church to regulate her own ceremonies and arrange her own rites. These centuries of bondage had sorely told on the spiritual character of her children, and now, though she had asserted her freedom, there still lay before her a long and painful struggle ere she could regain that energy and spiritual vitality for which she was once so justly famed.

Two only of the Irish bishops refused to accept the new order of things. One was Walsh, who had

been one of the judges by whom Staples, Bishop of Meath, was deprived of his See for being married, and he had been chosen by Mary as his successor before Staples was tried. He refused to conform, and as he preached against the Prayer Book, he was first imprisoned, and afterwards banished from the kingdom, and about seventeen years later died in Spain. The other was Leverous, who was intruded into the See of Kildare by Mary, when Lancaster, the rightful bishop, was banished on a charge of being married. Leverous seems only to have objected to take the oath of supremacy,¹ arguing that as our Lord had not seen fit to confer ecclesiastical authority on the Blessed Virgin, His mother, he could not believe that ecclesiastical supremacy was to be acknowledged in any woman. Leverous, who was only deprived of his See, supported himself by keeping a school in Limerick.

Besides these two, there is no record of any other bishop having refused to conform; and in Elizabeth's reign it would not have been possible for any bishop, even in the most remote diocese, to have retained his See in continued obedience to the Pope and in defiance of the laws of the land. There was, therefore, practically no change in the hierarchy of the Church. The Church remained the same. There was no break in

¹ In the Act of Supremacy, passed in the second year of Elizabeth's reign, the words "Head on earth of the Church," &c., which had given offence to some, were changed into "the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other Her Highness's dominions, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal."

the continuity of the episcopal chain which linked her with the Church of St. Patrick. The Irish bishops conformed; and, as occasion arose, they consecrated others, and thus transmitted their Orders to their successors, and preserved the continuity of the Church. For example, Hugh Curwen was consecrated in England to the Archbishopric of Dublin in the reign of Queen Mary ; he conformed under Elizabeth, and retained his See. Curwen consecrated Adam Loftus to the Archbishopric of Armagh, and Loftus succeeded Curwen in the See of Dublin. Both these prelates were Chancellors of Ireland, and there is no likelihood whatever that they would have performed consecrations otherwise than as the law directed, viz.:—with two bishops to assist; nor would there have been the least difficulty in obtaining the assistance of two Irish bishops. As the whole Irish episcopacy derives from the consecrations in which Curwen and Loftus took part, there is, therefore, an absolute certainty—as indeed some Roman Catholic writers allow—that we possess an episcopal succession from the primitive and mediæval Church. It is also certain that we have an unbroken local succession in the various Sees ; and there can be but little doubt, for the reasons mentioned above, that we have a spiritual descent from the Church of St. Patrick through the Irish prelates who assisted Curwen in his consecrations. Nor, in this connection, should the fact be overlooked that Irish bishops had frequently taken part in the consecration of English bishops who were in the episcopal ancestry of Bishop Curwen.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REBELLION OF THE O'NEILLS AND GERALDINES.

THE history of the Church of Ireland and the progress of the Reformation in it cannot be fully understood without some account, however brief, of the social and political condition of the country during the five and forty years of Elizabeth's reign. The feuds which marked Mary's reign were still continued. They had primarily no reference to religious differences. The lawlessness of the chieftains and their mutual jealousies were the principal causes of the perpetual warfare which was ruining the country.

Shane O'Neill claimed the sovereignty of Ulster, and brought fire and sword into the territories of those chiefs who refused to acknowledge his claims. Through the efforts of Sussex, the Lord Deputy, he professed allegiance to Elizabeth, and was received by her in London. He attended the queen's court in regal state, accompanied with his "guards of gallo-glasses armed with axes, bareheaded, with long curled hair hanging down, and yellow surplices, or shirts, dyed with saffron, long sleeves, short coats, and hanging mantles," at which, it is added, the

English gazed with wonder. Such a reception by the queen was looked upon by his followers as an acknowledgment of his independence—a complimentary visit from one sovereign to another—and he soon renewed his old quarrels to assert his sovereignty. No promise could bind O'Neill. Cavan and Fermanagh were laid waste, and Armagh and its cathedral burned. The chiefs appealed to Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy, and he succeeded in driving O'Neill into a neighbouring district, where he met his death. The death of O'Neill in 1567 gave peace to Ulster for a time.

Munster and Connaught were in a deplorable state of anarchy and misery from the turbulence of their chieftains. The Lord Deputy proceeded thither to restore order, but on the imprisonment of the two Geraldines—the Earl of Desmond and his brother Sir John FitzGerald—the rebellion was carried on by their cousin, James FitzMaurice Geraldine. He was a bitter enemy of the English Government and of the Reformed faith, and had already intrigued with Spain and Rome against both, through the titular Bishops of Cashel and Emly, who had gone to the Continent for aid. The question of religion was at length imported into the struggle, which almost up to this time—except when carried on between the septs themselves—had been practically one against advancing civilization, before which the old barbarous laws of tribal rule were gradually giving way.

Amongst the Acts passed by the Parliament of 1569 were—those to abolish the old chieftainships,

except when permitted by letters patent ; to permit lands to be resigned and received back from the Crown to be held by English tenure ; to establish free schools to teach English ; to authorize the Lord Deputy for ten years to present to ecclesiastical benefices in Munster and Connaught—an Act which became necessary because of the great lawlessness of the provinces. There had been admitted to benefices in them “unworthy persons . . . without lawful birth, learning, English habit or language, . . . and obtaining their dignities by free simony or other corrupt means.” These laws, directed against the old barbarous claims of feudalism, and the scandalous abuses which had grown up under the papal ecclesiastical system, precipitated the rebellion headed by James FitzMaurice. The excommunication of Elizabeth by Pope Paul V in the same year helped to swell the ranks of the insurgents.

This rebellion continued for nearly four years, but FitzMaurice at length submitted and was pardoned. He withdrew to the Continent, where he continued some years.

A brief extract from Sir Henry Sidney's report to Queen Elizabeth will suffice to show the state of Munster in 1576. He writes :—

“I never saw a more pleasant country in my life, so never saw I a more waste or desolate land ; . . . and there heard I such lamentable cries and doleful complaints made by that small remain of poor people which are left, who hardly escaping sword and fire of their outrageous neighbours or famine with the same which their extorcious lords have driven them unto. . . . Besides such horrible spectacles

. . . as burning villages, ruins of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles, yea, the view of bones and skulls of the dead subjects, who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields as in truth hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold. . . . Perjury, robbery, and murder counted allowable. Finally I cannot find that they make any conscience of sin, and doubtless I doubt whether they christen their children or no, for neither find I place where it should be done, nor any person able to instruct them in the rules of a Christian. . . .”

To such a condition had centuries of Roman supremacy and English misgovernment brought the fairest provinces in Ireland; but they were still to suffer more. The agents of the Pope continued to stimulate the disaffected chieftains to regain their importance by rising in support of the Papal claims.

James FitzMaurice returned in 1579 with material help and encouragement from Philip II and Pope Gregory III. He landed with some Spanish and Italian soldiers at Smerwick, on the coast of Kerry, at the siege of which, in the following year, both Sir Walter Raleigh and the poet Spenser were present. The expedition was accompanied by a number of ecclesiastics who had been active at home and abroad in stirring up sedition. Amongst them were an Englishman named Saunders, the Pope's legate, who afterwards perished by famine; an Irish Jesuit priest named Allen, who was killed in a marauding expedition; and also one Cornelius O'Ryan, said to be a titular Bishop of Killaloe, and a Spanish friar named Matthew de Oviedo. These brought with them from Gregory III another Bull, which renewed to all who would aid the rebellion the promise of a “plenary

indulgence" similar to that granted to those who fought against the Turks.

The Desmonds and Clanricardes again threw themselves into the rebellion, though they had recently submitted to Elizabeth, and received marks of her favour.

It was a terrible time of suffering. So great was the devastation, that "the lowing of a cow or the voice of a ploughman were not heard from Drumkeen in Kerry to Cashel." The people cursed the Geraldines for the fearful miseries brought on them by wars in which they had no interest. These wars originated in political motives. They were the last efforts of a decaying feudalism to stem the current of advancing civilization; but foreign emissaries succeeded in giving to them a spirit of religious fanaticism and sectarian bitterness, which seems never to have been absent since from Irish political movements.

Ireland remained tolerably quiet for a time after the suppression of this rebellion. Munster and Connaught were brought under the jurisdiction of the Crown, and sheriffs and other officials were appointed in the new counties then formed. Ulster wished for the protection of the English laws. The two chiefs, Turlough O'Neill and his kinsman Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, accepted the jurisdiction of the Queen's Courts. The Ulster territories were, therefore, also brought under the jurisdiction of English laws, and divided into seven new counties, viz.:—Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan.

It was considered a good time to call an Irish Parliament, which met in 1585. Nearly all the native chieftains attended as lords of Parliament, but only a few of the newly formed counties sent representatives to the Commons. Even the aged Turlough O'Neill attended, but he felt so awkward in his English court dress that, in order to divert attention from himself, he good-humouredly asked if he might bring his chaplain with him in his Irish mantle, adding that "thus will your English rabble be diverted at his uncouth figure."

At this Parliament, the Earl of Desmond and about 140 of his adherents were attainted; and their honours and estates passed to the Queen. Notwithstanding the comparative failure of Mary's plantation in Queen's County, Elizabeth determined to re-people the depopulated districts of Munster with English colonists. To these she offered estates in fee, varying from 800 to 12,000 acres, at two or three pence per acre, conditionally on their undertaking to plant them with English families, and make provision for their protection. Those who received 12,000 acres undertook to plant on them 86 families, a proportionately less number being required on smaller estates. Amongst the undertakers, as they were called, were Sir Walter Raleigh, who received 32,000 acres at Youghal, and Edmund Spenser, who got 12,000 acres at Kilcolman. It was hoped that a flourishing English colony, Protestant and loyal, would thus be founded. But most of the undertakers failed to fulfil their contracts, or make due provision for defence,

and in after years many of the settlers were slaughtered, and others abandoned the farms. The plantation of Munster was not a success.

The vast preparations of Spain for the invasion of England by the Armada; the withdrawal of the Irish troops to the Low Countries; and the continued and unwearied efforts of priests, friars, and Jesuits¹ specially trained at Douay, tended to raise the hopes of the disaffected, and produced in various places symptoms of unrest. The discontent, however, slumbered for some years, or only showed fitfully in the districts of various chiefs, most of whom made every protestation of loyalty. At length, after a long course of deceit, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, again raised the standard of rebellion in the north. He had been flattered by the Pope into assuming the

¹ The Order of the Jesuits, or the Society of Jesus, was founded about the year 1534 by Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish nobleman. Absolutely devoted to the interests of the Roman Pontiff and the advancement of the Roman religion, the new society received the unqualified sanction of the Pope, and in all countries became one of the most powerful opponents of the Reformers. The methods by which the Jesuits endeavoured to carry out their objects included (a) earnest preaching, (b) utilizing the powers of the confessional, and (c) gaining the co-operation of the young through their educational establishments. Absolute and unreasoning obedience to the will of their superiors was a primary condition of admission to the order, which rendered its members unscrupulous as to the means used in carrying out any desired object. The order was introduced into Ireland about 1545 by Wauchob, the titular Archbishop of Armagh, and, as in England, opposed the work of the Reformation with restless activity. The Jesuits have at different times been expelled from most Continental countries, owing to their constant political intrigues, on behalf of papal, as opposed to national, interests.

position of champion of the Papal claims. Oviedo, a Spaniard, whose life seems to have been spent as the agent of various intrigues against Elizabeth, was rewarded by the Pope with the nominal title of Archbishop of Dublin, though it is doubtful if he were ever consecrated. He was sent to present to Tyrone a personal gift from the Pontiff of a consecrated plume, said to be made of the feathers of a phoenix, and was also the bearer of the usual indulgence to all who joined in the rebellion, as well as of funds and promises of future help from Spain.

The rebellion, which proved one of the most formidable in Elizabeth's reign, became general, but was particularly destructive to life and property in Ulster, where alone 3,000 people are said to have perished within a period of three years.

O'Neill submitted to the Lord Deputy just before the announcement of the Queen's death. The steps taken in the succeeding reign in consequence of an attempt to renew the rebellion were such as have continued since to affect the interests of the Church of Ireland.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PROGRESS OF REFORM.

BUT little progress in organizing the Church could be made in the more remote districts, owing to the continual disturbances which (as we have seen in the previous chapter) marked the greater portion of Elizabeth's reign, and also to the difficulty of getting clergy capable of teaching the people in their own tongue.

Owing to the northern rebellion, the Diocese of Kilmore was without a bishop for the last fourteen years of Elizabeth's reign. Within the Pale and in some of the southern dioceses the organization was complete. The systematic preaching of the truth was beginning to tell ; for, at first, all classes continued to attend the services of the parish churches, until the agents of the Roman court succeeded in preventing them. The impoverishment of the parishes and the widespread ruin of the Church also hindered the work of Reform ; for the Church buildings not only suffered in the general devastation of a town or district, but were often designedly destroyed by those who made religion a pretext for lawlessness and rebellion. For example, Shane O'Neill and Donatus O'Teig (titular Archbishop of Armagh) set fire to the Cathedral of Armagh, marching to burn

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it in a great procession of monks, "every man carrying a faggot;" and in the rebellion in Connaught, a son of the Earl of Clanricard set fire to the Church of Athenry, though his mother was buried in it. On being remonstrated with, he replied that "if his mother were alive, he would sooner burn her and the church together, than any English church should fortify there." Many other churches where the liturgy had been adopted shared a similar fate.

The incomes of the parishes had been greatly reduced from causes described in Chapter XXI, so that many of them did not afford "any competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon, scarcely to buy him a gown." Hence, there was a difficulty in inducing educated men to settle in such parishes amongst a people goaded to hostility by the ever active agents of the Roman pontiff.

The incomes attached to the bishoprics had also been greatly reduced; in many cases, by the wilful misconduct of former occupants, who had alienated the endowments. They had granted leases to relatives and others on terms which rendered the future income of the Sees only nominal. Hence, the necessity for a time, not only of uniting parishes, but also of allowing bishops to hold other preferments. Kildare, Ossory, Ferns, Leighlin, and Cashel were all reduced by the alienation of their estates. On account of the poverty of the Sees of Armagh and Dublin, the Archbishops were permitted to hold other benefices with them. The See

of Meath was so poor that the Queen gave Bishop Brady five years in which to pay the first-fruits ; and in 1568, united the See of Clonmacnois to it by Act of Parliament. Emly was united to Cashel at the same time. The state of the Diocese of Meath, as described by Sir Henry Sidney in his report to the Queen in 1576, may perhaps be taken as a sample of that of other dioceses at that time. He speaks of Bishop Brady as an "honest, zealous, and learned bishop, . . . a goodly minister of the Gospel," who, on his visitation of his diocese, found in it 224 parish churches. In 105 the tithes were impropriated and rented to farmers ; there was no parson or resident vicar in them, but "only a very simple or sorry curate." Only eighteen of these curates could speak English ; "the rest, Irish priests or Irish rogues, having very little Latin, and less learning or civility." "All these live upon the bare altarages [emoluments arising from the service of the altar], as they call them . . . no house standing in any of them to dwell in. In many places the walls of the church down, very few churches covered, windows and doors ruined or spoiled." There were fifty-two other parish churches with vicars better served than the others, "yet but badly," and fifty-two others which pertain to divers lords in better estate than the rest, "yet far from well." The Lord Deputy further writes that in the more remote parts of the country, "as it hath been preached publicly before me, that the Sacrament of Baptism is not administered among them, and truly

I believe it ;” and he adds, “that upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a Church in so miserable a case.”

Such was the condition of the Church after more than three centuries of Papal supremacy. The seventeen years of Elizabeth’s reign that had already passed when this report was written, had not sufficed to make many visible reforms, but had already done something towards laying the foundation of future progress, not only by parliamentary enactments, but by the personal efforts of earnest and godly men.

One of the earliest measures of reform in Elizabeth’s reign was the removal of images and statues from the churches. An incident which occurred in Christ Church Cathedral during a service at which the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop, and other members of the Privy Council were present, drew special attention to them, and led to their removal. By the Queen’s instruction the Litany was sung in English when the Earl of Sussex was sworn in as Lord Deputy. This gave great offence to some, and it was determined that a miracle should be performed on the following Sunday, which would show with what sorrow the Saviour viewed the abolition of the Mass and the introduction of the English Litany. Accordingly, as the service proceeded a large marble statue of the Saviour which stood in the church, with a reed in His hand and a crown of thorns on His head, was seen to bleed. Gradually the blood trickled from the crevices of the crown of thorns down the face. Some one in the secret cried out that the Saviour’s image

was sweating blood because of the heretical doings in the Church. The Mayor and many of the people prostrated themselves before the bleeding image, praying to it in terror. Fearing some harm amidst the great commotion, the Lord Deputy and the members of the Council withdrew. But the Archbishop, being displeased, ordered the sexton to wash the image to see if it would bleed anew. It was then discovered that a sponge saturated with blood had been placed within the hollow of the head of the image. The sponge was brought out and exhibited to the people, and a monk named Leigh confessed that he had placed it there. He was cursed by the crowd whom he had deceived, and over 100 persons, disgusted at the cheat, vowed they would never hear Mass again. On the following Sunday, Leigh and his accomplices, with hands and legs tied, and a record of their crime written on their breasts, were made to stand upon a table before the pulpit, from which the Archbishop preached on the text "God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie." (2 Thess. ii. 11.) Archbishop Curwen, though he had himself, in Mary's reign, re-introduced the image, which had before been removed by Archbishop Browne, now ordered it to be broken; and on a report of the fraud being sent to Elizabeth, she directed all images to be removed out of the churches.

Amongst those who did much towards helping on the work of reform, Nicholas Walsh, son of a Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, deserves to be specially noticed. He was Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathe-

dral, Dublin, of which John Kerney was Treasurer, and in 1577 was consecrated Bishop of Ossory. These two men interested themselves much in efforts to give religious instruction to the Irish in their own language. They obtained from Government an order that the Church prayers should be printed in the Irish language, and a church in every diocese set apart in which service should be conducted in that tongue.

Kerney drew up an Irish catechism and primer, which he printed in 1571. This was the first book ever printed in the Irish characters in Ireland. Indeed, so interested in the project was Elizabeth, that she provided the Irish types and a printing press at her own personal cost. But so little was this effort appreciated by the Irish Government that in the next reign these types were sold to the Romanist party by the King's printer. Notwithstanding the continued insurrections and rebellions which disturbed the country, Kerney and Walsh, assisted by Nehemiah Donellan, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, undertook the translation of the New Testament from Greek into Irish. The work was, however, interrupted in 1585 by the murder of Bishop Walsh by one of his clergy whom he had proceeded against for immorality. William Daniel, who succeeded Archbishop Donellan, completed it and published it in 1603, and five years later he also published the Prayer Book in Irish. The Old Testament was not published in Irish till 1685.

The dissolution of the monasteries, no doubt, for

a time somewhat injuriously affected the general education of the country. But one of the earliest acts of Elizabeth's Parliament was to establish in every diocese free schools to teach English. There were also grammar schools to which the wealthy sent their sons, some of whom afterwards went to Oxford or Cambridge. The educational standard of the ordinary clergy, however, was very low. The necessity for an Irish University had long been apparent. Several attempts had been made since the beginning of the fourteenth century to found one, but all ended in failure. Archbishop Browne petitioned for a University in 1547. Sir Henry Sidney in 1565, and many others about that time, urged a similar project. In 1585 Sir John Perrott proposed the disendowment of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, in order that its revenues might be used to found two colleges, one in Armagh and one in Limerick—a project that had well-nigh been carried into effect, but for the strenuous opposition of Archbishop Loftus. At length, on the petition of Henry Ussher, Archdeacon of Dublin, on behalf of the citizens of Dublin, and through the influence of the Archbishop, Queen Elizabeth founded¹ Trinity College by royal warrant on 29th December, 1592,

¹ The only endowments granted to Trinity College by Queen Elizabeth consisted of some Crown rents of estates in the south and west of Ireland, and an annual subvention from the State of £358 16s., charged on the revenues of Ireland. This annual grant to the College was withdrawn by the Government in 1855, and the income at present derived from the Elizabethan Crown rents amounts to about £5 per annum.

on the site of the ruined Abbey of All Hallowes, which had been granted by the Corporation of Dublin. The funds for repairing the abbey and erecting new buildings were contributed from various parts of Ireland. Adam Loftus was the first Provost of Trinity College, and James Ussher one of its first scholars.

The earliest contribution to its now celebrated library came from the soldiers who defeated the Spaniards at Kinsale in 1601, and amounted to nearly £1,000.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

WITH the submission of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the long struggle between the native chieftains and the British Government came to an end. The authority of the Crown was everywhere acknowledged, though much remained to be done before perfect tranquillity was restored.

The Irish colonists—called Scoti or Scots—who had settled in the West of Scotland were joined in the sixth century by others under Fergus, brother of Murkertagh, the first Christian monarch of Ireland. Their descendants became the ruling race in the country, which from them was called Scotia Minor, and ultimately Scotland. From Fergus the Scottish monarchs traced their descent. The accession of James I, therefore, ought to have been welcomed by the Irish people, for he could claim descent from their own royal line ; and, no doubt, it would have been welcomed by them but for the spirit of religious bigotry which the foreign emissaries of Rome and Spain had succeeded in rousing. In effecting this the Jesuits and the Orders of Begging Friars had proved ready and willing agents.

In Elizabeth's reign no one in Ireland had suffered because of his religious convictions ; but a report

that James might favour the religion of his mother roused at once all the persecuting intolerance which had so painfully marked the reign of Mary. Violent outbursts against Protestants, and attempts to re-introduce the Roman religion, were made in some of the southern towns. The cathedral in Waterford was broken open, and Mass celebrated ; in Cork, the Bishop's residence was attacked, one of his clergy shot, and the churches seized. The same spirit exhibited itself in Kilkenny, Wexford, Clonmel, and Limerick.

The energy and prudence of Lord Mountjoy, however, soon brought these cities to a better frame of mind, and James was proclaimed in them and the clergy were restored. This short period of disaffection seems to have been confined to the southern towns, in which probably the majority of the inhabitants were of English descent. It involved no political grievance—no question in which the old Irish chieftains were concerned—but was brought about solely by the agency of those who were plotting for the restoration of the Papal power. As an incentive to rebellion a declaration was put forth containing the answer of the Spanish Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid to a question which had been submitted to them as to “whether an Irish Papist may obey or assist his Protestant King?” To this the Universities replied :—“1st. That since the Earl of Tyrone undertook the war for religion by the Pope's approbation, it was as meritorious to aid him against the heretics as to fight against the Turks. 2nd. That it was a mortal sin in any way to assist the English

against him ; and that those who did so could have neither absolution nor salvation, without deserting the heretics, and repenting of so great a crime." Such a declaration influenced many in Ireland, and in England the spirit stirred up by it and similar incentives found expression in the Gunpowder Plot. Hitherto the laws which had been passed in Ireland tended to keep alive the distinction between the two races which inhabited the country. James, as a Scotchman, was naturally free from English prejudices, and looked upon both races as equally his subjects. He determined that there should be no legal distinctions between them, but that the same laws and customs should be applicable to all ; and it would have been well had such a policy been acted upon centuries before. The Parliament of 1613 repealed all existing Acts which were inconsistent with the granting of equal rights to all within the kingdom. The native princes were desirous of peace. They surrendered their lands, and received them back as grants from the Crown. This involved an acceptance from their under-tenants of a rent in money instead of one of service, by which they had previously held their farms. The King's writ now ran through the whole kingdom, and the country began to realize the blessings of peace. There was no political grievance. The Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, however, made an abortive attempt to raise another rebellion, and then fled from the country. Their lands and those of their confederates were forfeited to the Crown. These embraced almost the

whole of the counties of Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Donegal, and Derry. Most of this vast territory of Ulster, comprising over half a million acres, was unreclaimed land covered with forests. There was not a fixed village in Fermanagh. James determined to colonize these counties with settlers from England and Scotland, on a plan which would avoid the mistake which had been made in the colonization of Munster in the previous reign.

The plantation of Ulster has had such an important influence upon Ireland and her Church that it is necessary to describe it a little more in detail.

The settlers consisted of three classes—(a) Those who received a grant of 2,000 acres, on which they were required to build a castle and a bawn or strongly enclosed yard. They were further required to settle on the estate twenty English or Scotch families, of whom four should have fee-farm grants of 120 acres each ; six to have 100 acres each on lease ; and the remainder to be granted to husbandmen and tradesmen. (b) The second class received a grant of 1,500 acres on somewhat similar conditions, on which a house and barn only were required to be built. (c) The third class got 1,000 acres, on which only a barn was required, the conditions as to the letting of farms being the same as those for the other classes. The colonists were also required to settle near each other for mutual protection, and so formed villages. To the Corporation of London immense tracts of land were also granted in County Derry, one of the conditions being the rebuilding of the towns of

Coleraine and Derry, which had been destroyed in the rebellion. Hence the name Londonderry, which was rebuilt in 1617. The results of this vast effort at colonization are seen to-day in the industry and prosperity of the North. Many English settlers gladly accepted the farms offered, but the majority came from Scotland, from whence also many had come in the previous reign. In each of the departments the dispossessed natives were also permitted to hold farms. The Scotch element thus introduced into the population of Ireland, though Protestant in faith, had discarded the ancient Episcopal form of Church government and Liturgical Service ; and, as we shall see later on, became a considerable factor in those causes which tended to retard the progress of the Church of Ireland. Henceforth the Irish Church had not only to contend with Romanism, but also with Presbyterianism,¹ which at times showed itself scarcely less hostile.

In the plantation of Ulster James I did much towards placing the temporalities and organization

¹ The Reformation in England and Ireland, as we have seen, came from within the Church, and was carried on under the sanction of the bishops, clergy, and civil power. There was no new Church set up. On the Continent it was not so. The Reformation in Germany and Switzerland came from without the Church, the bishops as a rule being hostile to it. Hence, almost from necessity, the episcopal constitution of the Church was abandoned in these countries. Melancthon and Luther both asserted that their ordination of ministers was only because episcopal ordination was impossible or undesirable. In Geneva, where the influence of Calvin, the great Swiss Reformer, was paramount, the foundation of Presbyterianism was laid. In Calvin's system the necessity of special ordination

of the Church in a satisfactory condition. Many of the Irish chiefs of Ulster had seized on the property of the Church, and greatly impoverished the Sees and parishes. In fact, the constant wars had destroyed most of the churches, and depopulated many districts in Ulster, so that the performance of religious services was practically confined to the towns. There had been no bishop in Clogher for many years, which had to be joined to Derry and Raphoe; nor had any appointment been made to the See of Kilmore for the last fourteen years of Elizabeth's reign, so great were the poverty and lawlessness of these districts. Clogher, however, became one of the wealthiest dioceses in Ireland, when James granted it the abbey-lands of Clogher. Some of the parishes also in this diocese had been usurped and continued to be occupied by Roman priests; and others were served with "ministers as scandalous as their incomes."

James appointed bishops to the vacant Sees, and was insisted on; but he taught that there was no distinction between the office of bishop and presbyter, and that there was an equality in the rank and jurisdiction of all ministers. Calvin also reflected the spirit of the new Swiss Republic in the government of his Church. He associated lay members with the ministers, and thus gave it a popular basis; while the extreme rigour of his Church discipline gave to his system a tone of severity which perceptibly influenced the character of its members. It was in this school that John Knox and other great Scotch Reformers were trained, and on their return to Scotland they succeeded in moulding the Reformation there into a Presbyterian form somewhat similar to that of Geneva in spirit, doctrine, and organization. Such was the origin and basis of the Presbyterian system now for the first time introduced into Ireland.

restored all lands that had at any time belonged to the Church in Ulster. He made the bishops and patentees restore to the parishes the impropriations that had come into their hands ; but he recompensed them with his own lands. He ordered a church to be built in every parish, and, in addition to the ordinary tithes, endowed the incumbents with glebe lands from 60 to 120 acres in extent, according to the size of the parish. Free schools were founded and endowed in the larger towns, and Trinity College, Dublin, received not only large tracts of land, but the advowsons of some of the best parishes in each of the six new counties.

Thus the Church in Ulster, as to her temporalities, was placed in a stronger position than she had been in for centuries. Her endowments were increased, her churches and her glebes were restored, and her members greatly augmented by the English settlers. But the introduction at the same time of Scotch Presbyterianism tended much to hinder her work ; as did also the neglect on the part of many "undertakers" to fully carry out their contracts.

No Parliament had met for twenty-seven years : that which was called in 1613 was the first at which the whole of Ireland was represented. There was no distinction of race or creed ; all met to make laws for their common country. It passed no statutes directly affecting the Irish Church. But at the same time there was held the first Convocation of the Church of Ireland. Hitherto the National Synod of the Clergy had acted in accord-

ance with primitive custom. The Convocation now called was formed on the model of those of England. The bishops composed the upper House, the lower House being formed from certain *ex officio* dignitaries and two representatives elected by the clergy of each diocese. The chief business transacted by this, the first Convocation of the Irish Church, was the drawing up and adopting of a series of 104 Articles or propositions—composed, it is said, by James Ussher, who afterwards became Primate—on the basis of the Lambeth Articles, which had been rejected by the English Church. They were decidedly Calvinistic in their teaching, and continued to represent the doctrine of the Irish Church until the adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church in 1635.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ROMAN INTRUSION.

THE present ecclesiastical organization of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland dates only from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and has no connection with that of the ancient Church of Ireland. In 1614 a meeting of Papal ecclesiastics residing in the province of Armagh was held in Drogheda for the purpose of establishing a new Roman hierarchy, and a similar meeting was held in the same year in Kilkenny.

The steps taken at these meetings resulted in the introduction of a branch of the Church of Rome into Ireland. The country swarmed with priests, Jesuits, and mendicant friars, sent into it from abroad ; there was at this time, however, not a single bishop in the province of Armagh connected with the Roman Communion, and only one such bishop resident in all Ireland. A few political agents of Spain and Rome, residing on the Continent, bore the titles of Irish Sees ; but they exercised no jurisdiction over them, and, indeed, in some cases never entered the dioceses of which they were the titular bishops.

The Sees and parishes were long in the legitimate possession of the bishops and clergy of the Church of Ireland ; and the attempt to intrude bishops and

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clergy into dioceses and parishes already filled, was simply an act of schism, according to the canons professedly acknowledged by the Roman See, which prohibited a bishop from exercising any jurisdiction in the diocese of another. The councils of the ancient Church decreed that there could be but one bishop in a diocese, and one archbishop in a province ; and that he who intruded into the See of another was guilty of the sin of schism, and could not be a lawful bishop.

The reformation of the Church of Ireland was the work of the Church herself. It was carried out in due order by the proper authorities in both Church and State.

The bishops and clergy of the Irish Church, assembled in their synods, adopted the necessary reforms ; these were sanctioned by the enactments of the national Parliament, and put forth by the authority of the Crown. No novelty either in doctrine or discipline was introduced ; the Church simply re-asserted her former independence of foreign control, and rejected the errors which during a period of nearly five centuries had been gradually corrupting the doctrine and ritual of her primitive faith.

To the provincial councils or synods of the clergy, according to the practice of the universal Church, belonged the power of framing Articles and Canons, and arranging ecclesiastical matters. The national Church of Ireland availed herself of this inherent right, and through her national synods worked out her own reformation.

In the English Church, Convocation—an ecclesiastical body originally founded in the reign of Edward I, to deal with certain civil matters connected with the clergy—gradually usurped the functions of the national synods. The Canons of 1603 recognised it as truly representing the Church of England. It was through Convocation, with the sanction of Parliament and the Crown, that the English Reformation was effected. But there was no such ecclesiastical body as Convocation in Ireland till 1614. The national Synod still continued as of old to be the legitimate authority in the Irish Church, and by the direction of that authority all reforms were regularly carried out.

The first Prayer Book of Edward VI was used in Ireland for the first time on Easter Day, 1551; but the proclamation for its use in the churches was not made until the Irish Church Synod of Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy had previously, on the 1st March, 1551, authorized its use, and sanctioned the doctrinal changes which its acceptance involved. So, too, in Elizabeth's reign the Synod of the Irish Church was called in 1560 to establish the Protestant religion, and authorize the necessary changes, which afterwards received the sanction of Parliament and the Crown. The same canonical authority of the Church met in 1565, and received the English Liturgy, and definitely accepted the doctrine of the English Church. Thus all was done in due order through the legitimate channels of the Church; and not only so, but also by the practically unanimous voice of the Church

We have already seen (page 167) that only two of the bishops—and these two had been illegally intruded by Mary into Sees from which the lawful bishops had been expelled—refused to renounce the supremacy of the Pope, and to accept the Reformed doctrines. The character of the Roman bishops who so readily, in this as in former reigns, professed a change in their religious convictions may not have been very high; yet the fact remains that they conformed in Elizabeth's reign, and that these bishops consecrated others, as Sees became vacant, and so transmitted their Orders to their successors. There was no break in the succession. The Church had simply discarded errors and abuses, while retaining what was primitive and true. She reformed herself. She was the same Church still, with the same bishops and the same organization. The laity, too, at first, were generally willing to conform. The nobles in the reign of Henry VIII were unanimous in expressing their determination to root out the "usurped authority of the Roman Pontiff," and, as a reward for their loyalty to the throne, many of them received English titles. The common people, too ignorant and indifferent to desire reform, yet generally continued to attend their parish churches and the English services even during part of Elizabeth's reign. But neglect to give them religious instruction through their own language, left them an easy prey to the numerous and active emissaries of the Roman Pontiff. These led them to believe that their political freedom depended on their opposition

to the Reformed faith. Hence they were the more easily induced to separate themselves from their national Church.

In the schism thus formed, originated the present modern branch of the Roman Church in Ireland. It was not until the reign of James I, six and fifty years after the Reformation was accepted by the Church of Ireland, that the Church of Rome formally set up a new organization in Ireland, and, in defiance of the authority of General Councils, intruded bishops into dioceses that were not vacant, and priests into parishes already in possession of lawful pastors. These intruding bishops and clergy came to Ireland with foreign Orders—some obtained in Spain, others in Italy and elsewhere, but none of them had any connection with the episcopate of the ancient Irish Church.

There was but one Roman titular bishop connected with Ireland at the accession of James I; and in 1614, when the so-called Synod of Drogheda was held, there was, as has been already noticed, only one titular bishop residing in Ireland. A minute of the proceedings of the meeting held at Drogheda is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It states that "all the suffragan Sees of that province [Armagh] were vacant." Indeed, as late as 1621, there were only four titular Roman bishops, of whom two were living in Ireland, and the other two abroad. Thus, for over sixty years after the Reformation, the Church of Rome neither maintained a succession of Orders, nor exercised episcopal jurisdiction or functions in Ireland.

CHAPTER XXX.

CONDITION OF THE CHURCH DURING PART OF
CHARLES I'S REIGN.

THE introduction of the new Roman hierarchy into Ireland, under the guidance of the Society "De Propaganda Fide," which was effected in the previous reign, was followed by renewed efforts to re-establish the Roman worship. Jesuits and friars, educated abroad,¹ came into the country in vast numbers, and, in the towns where the number of Romanists was greatest, they seized the churches, and began to set up ecclesiastical establishments. On the accession of Charles I, in 1625, the turbulent spirit of the recusants was still further increased by the preaching of the Roman clergy and the promulgation of a Bull by Pope Urban VIII, in which he threatened the vengeance of Heaven on all who took the oath of supremacy, and urged them to lay down their lives rather than take it. As an inducement to relax the laws in their favour, and suspend the oath of supremacy, the Roman Catholics offered to raise an army in support of the king's wars. The proposition was favourably received by the lord deputy, on

¹ There were three Irish Colleges at this time on the Continent, viz.: Salamanca, opened in 1592, exclusively for students of Irish parentage; Lisbon (1593); Douay (1594).

whose advice a deputation went to lay the matter before the king. Without awaiting the result of the deputation, the Roman Catholics spread the report that a full toleration of their religion had been granted, and began to act in such a manner as to excite serious alarms amongst the Protestant inhabitants.

A meeting of the clergy of the province of Armagh was held, under the presidency of Archbishop Ussher, and a strong remonstrance was drawn up against the supposed compact. It was signed by twelve bishops, and declared that "to grant the toleration in respect of any money to be given or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people." The publication of this judgment had considerable effect in England, where the House of Commons drew up a similar protest. These protests put an end to this attempt to obtain from the necessities of the king a formal recognition of the Romish religion. Freedom of worship had always been permitted, and this they continued to enjoy, except when some act of unusual audacity challenged attention—such, for example, as the persistent preaching of sedition by a company of Carmelite Friars in Dublin, in 1629, which resulted in riots, and led for a time to the more stringent enforcement of the laws.

The condition of the Church in many parts of the country was far from satisfactory. It did not suffer as yet from internal dissension, or the multiplying of sects, as in England. Romanism and Ulster Presby-

terianism were its chief opponents. Indeed, some of the Presbyterian ministers—as in the case of Robert Blair in the diocese of Down, and John Livingstone in the diocese of Raphoe—did not scruple to accept ordination, and, having gained possession of a parish, to rail against the Liturgy, and conduct the service after the Presbyterian form.

The temporalities of the Church, however, continued to be misappropriated and its property mismanaged. James I had done much to provide endowments for the Sees and parishes in Ulster; yet even there his intentions were not loyally carried out. In other parts of the country the revenues of the Sees and parishes had greatly suffered from the alienation of Church property and fraudulent leases. For example, the Earl of Cork managed to get the whole bishopric of Lismore at a rent of forty shillings a year, which was also about the value to which the Sees of Cloyne and Kilmacduagh were reduced.

In Leighlin and Ferns there was scarcely a living that was not farmed out to patrons at from £25 to £5 a year, for long leases, some of them granted in the time of Bishop Devereux, who had conformed.

Alienation was so general that, except in Cork and Ross, which had a succession of three good bishops, “there was not a bishopric in the province of Cashel that had not the print of the sacrilegious paw upon it.”

The poverty of the Sees and parishes told on the cathedrals and church buildings, many of which

were in a ruinous state. Such was the condition of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. Though service was held in it, yet the vaults were "made into tippling-rooms for beer, wines, and tobacco, demised all to Popish recusants, and by them and others so much frequented in time of Divine Service, that, though there is no danger of blowing up the assembly above their heads, yet there is of poisoning them with the fumes." This poverty tended to deter an educated clergy from accepting parishes; and under the circumstances one cannot be surprised to learn that the incumbents were often ignorant men, and held in but little respect, and that as yet but few of them were educated in Trinity College. In the chief Sees and more central parishes, however, were to be found men of deep learning and piety, zealously endeavouring to spread true religion in the land.

Charles I clearly recognised the difficulties with which the Church of Ireland had to contend. He was sincerely attached to episcopacy, and took steps to rectify abuses which were beyond the control of the Church, at the same time urging the bishops to exercise a stricter supervision within their dioceses, and endeavour to correct the abuses which a lax discipline had allowed to grow up. To carry out his wishes in reference to the Church as well as the country, he selected Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom he afterwards created Earl of Strafford, and sent him to Ireland as Lord Deputy in 1532.

Strafford had previously belonged to the popular party in England, and joined those who had forced

the king to grant the Petition of Rights; but he afterwards devoted his whole energy and life to promote the interests of Charles. During eleven years from 1629, in which no Parliament had been called in England, Strafford and Laud were the chief advisers of the king. Arbitrary, and in some instances, no doubt, tyrannical, though he was, yet he enforced order, and kept down the petty tyranny of others. Hence, during his seven years' rule, Ireland enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity for which its Parliament formally professed to be grateful. He fostered commerce, and, though practically extinguishing the woollen trade, laid the foundation of the linen manufacture, which has since proved so important a factor in the prosperity of Ulster.

To Strafford more than any man of his time was the Church of Ireland indebted for a restoration of her temporalities. He forced the Earl of Cork to give back to the Church tithes which he had seized to the value of £2,000 a year. He dealt similarly with others of lesser note. Impropriations which had come into the king's hands were restored, and Strafford himself, as Lord Deputy, gave up those livings which had been retained by his predecessors. Some followed this example and restored all their impropriations, while others allocated a suitable salary for a curate. In all his efforts to benefit the Church of Ireland, Strafford was ably seconded by Dr. Bramhall, afterwards Bishop of Derry, and later Ussher's successor in the Primacy of Armagh. He came to Ireland as chaplain to Earl Strafford, and

at once identified himself with every effort to improve the Irish Church. Bishop Bramhall succeeded in largely increasing the value of many Sees and parishes by obtaining the surrender of the fee-farm grants and rent compositions by which they had been impoverished. Within a period of four years he raised, for the benefit of the inferior clergy, over £30,000 by voluntary subscription, to which the king and Archbishop Laud, and many of the nobility, gave liberal contributions.

In the Parliament which met soon after Strafford's arrival, measures were passed dealing with the restitution of tithes and impropriations, and providing against the alienation of Church lands.

Convocation met in 1634. It was presided over by Primate Ussher, to whom precedence over the Archbishop of Dublin had been formally given. Of four archbishops and nineteen bishops who formed the Upper House, only the president and Martin, Bishop of Meath, were educated in Trinity College. Lesley, Dean of Down, was prolocutor of the Lower House.

The chief subject which engaged the attention of Convocation was the acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles and English Canons, which would secure a uniformity of doctrine and discipline between the Churches of England and Ireland.

The Articles of 1615 continued to be the doctrinal standard of the Irish Church. These were decidedly Calvinistic in character, and in this respect differed from those of the Church of England. Bishop Bram-

hall strongly advocated the acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles, and gained the unanimous consent of the bishops ; but in the Lower House a disposition to retain both sets of Articles was manifest. However, on the intervention of the Lord Deputy, both Houses of Convocation adopted the Thirty-nine Articles without any reference to the Irish Articles. In the opinion of some, the Irish Articles were still held to be binding, as they had not been formally rejected, hence both sets of Articles were used for a few years ; but after the disastrous rebellion in 1641 the Irish Articles fell into disuse, and the English Articles alone were subscribed. The Churches of England and Ireland had now the same doctrinal standards ; and it was proposed that Convocation should also adopt the English Canons, so that both Churches might have a common discipline. This was strongly and successfully resisted by Primate Ussher, who urged that it would be a betrayal of the independence of the Irish Church to accept them ; that, as an assertion of the privileges of a national Church to decree its own rites and ceremonies, the Church of Ireland should retain her own Canons. To this Convocation agreed, and passed the Book of Constitution and Canons, which Bramhall, by its direction, had drafted, and which afterwards received His Majesty's assent. The Irish Canons were in substantial agreement with those of the English Church. Some were added in reference to supplying Irish Prayer Books and Services when necessary, and others to meet the peculiar needs of the Irish

Church. The Thirty-nine Articles have since continued to be accepted by the Church of Ireland, but the Canons were revised in 1871.

Other matters which occupied the attention of this Convocation related to the more systematic education of the people in schools and by catechetical instruction on Sundays in the church, and to the nonconforming clergy who had intruded into parishes in the North.

In reference to the University of Dublin, new rules for its better regulation were drawn up by Archbishop Laud, somewhat similar to those he had already made for the University of Oxford.

In the renewed efforts to improve the temporalities as well as the spiritualities of the Church—the greater activity in repairing the fabrics, and the evident improvement in the discipline of the clergy as well as in the care of the dioceses—the Church appeared to have started on a more prosperous career ; but in a few years, from no fault of her own, she was suddenly brought to the verge of extinction.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DISASTER—REBELLION OF 1641.

THE efforts of Charles I and Laud to carry out the policy of James I, and enforce the use of the Liturgy in Scotland, met with determined opposition from the Puritans. When the new Liturgy was being read for the first time in St. Giles's Cathedral in Edinburgh by the Dean, on 23rd July, 1637, a stool, flung at his head by Jenny Geddes, began a riot which soon roused the whole nation, and ended in a revolution. The General Assembly met and abolished episcopacy, and re-established Presbyterianism in Scotland. A National Covenant was drawn up, and signed by nearly the whole population. It bound them to oppose prelacy, and stand by each other against all opposition.

The insurrection thus roused found many sympathizers amongst the Scotch settled in Ireland. They hoped it would enable them to set up Presbyterianism in Ulster, and many took the oath of the Scotch Covenant. This was especially the case in the diocese of Down and Connor, where Bishop Lesley particularly complained of their hostility to the Church and her services. He was himself a Scotchman of noble birth, and deeply attached to King Charles, to whom he had formerly been tutor.

The insurrectionary movement was, however, at once checked by Strafford, who drew up an oath expressing loyalty to the king, and repudiating the Covenant. This he required all Scotchmen residing in Ireland to take.

Ireland continued at peace. The Church was steadily gathering strength and carrying out her sacred duties, and the country rapidly increasing in prosperity. The Parliament of 1640 specially thanked the king for sending them such a good governor.

In the same year Strafford was recalled, and within two days after his arrival in London was imprisoned by the Parliament. It was an opportunity for revenge to those in Ireland whom he had compelled to restore the Church lands which they had seized, or whose lawlessness he had kept in check. The same Parliament which had so lately praised his acts, now sent a deputation to aid in procuring his execution, which took place a few months later. Archbishop Ussher, who was in London at the time, visited Strafford in prison, and attended him at his death. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, like Strafford, had shown himself a true benefactor of the Irish Church, and was therefore equally obnoxious to both the Romanist and Presbyterian parties. They joined in impeaching him before the Irish Parliament; but, after considerable persecution and imprisonment, he was released.

The removal of Strafford gave hopes that a long-planned conspiracy might be successfully carried out. As early as 1634 the Lord Deputy had been warned of an attempted rebellion by Heber MacMahon, a

priest who had been sent to Ireland to further it. The king himself had drawn the attention of the Lords Justices to the great influx of priests and friars into Ireland from the Continent, but no precautions had been taken. Hatred of the English was utilized as a factor in rousing the people to rebel. Leaders were sought for amongst the representatives of the old families whose territories had been confiscated. Roger Moore—the celebrated Rory O'More—of Leix, Maguire of Enniskillen, and Sir Phelim O'Neill, were the chief leaders. The 23rd October, 1641, was fixed for the general rising. Information was received only in time to save Dublin; but on that night, throughout the whole of Ulster, the Irish who lived amongst them rose upon their unsuspecting English and Protestant neighbours. A fearful massacre ensued; old and young, women and children, were butchered in cold blood with every circumstance of cruelty that fiendish ingenuity could invent. O'Neill was in arms the next day, and the rebellion rapidly spread to other parts of the country.

It is needless to dwell on the sickening details of this fearful rebellion, which are preserved in the sworn testimony of many eye-witnesses, the records of which are in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Though some of these witnesses may have exaggerated their experiences, yet the sad fact remains that many thousands perished in the rebellion, besides those who fell in battle. The Roman Catholic clergy at once identified themselves with its aims, and pronounced it just.

In the following October "The Confederation of

Kilkenny" appointed a Supreme Council to continue the insurrection, and establish the Roman Catholic religion. The oath of association was required from all on pain of excommunication. A decree was passed by the Confederation, "that the possessions of the Protestant clergy should be deemed the possession of the Catholic clergy," and many of the churches which had escaped destruction were seized.

In the south and west of Ireland, as in the north, the isolated Protestant inhabitants suffered much. Their property was seized, and they were obliged to seek protection in the nearest castles, and defend themselves as best they could. For example, many took refuge in the Castle of Ballyalla, in County Clare, which was closely besieged for nearly three months. At length, in order to reduce the castle more quickly, the rebels made a great gun of half-tanned leather. But when they discharged it, "she only gave a great report, having three pounds of powder in her, but let fly backward, the bullet remaining within." The siege was raised.

The effects of this rebellion were truly disastrous to the Church of Ireland. In Ulster, where the massacre was greatest, she was well-nigh blotted out. The clergy, as well as the people, were driven from their parishes. Some of the bishops were obliged to seek safety in Dublin; others fled abroad. Two of them, Bishop Bedell, of Kilmore, and Webb, of Limerick, were taken prisoners. The latter died in prison, and the former one month after his release.

Bishop Bedell, who thus suffered, was remarkable for his gentleness and piety. He first came to Ireland as Provost of Trinity College, which position he held for two years. In 1629 he was appointed to the See of Kilmore, a diocese which had suffered much from neglect. The majority of the people understood only Irish, and his clergy as a rule could only speak English. Though fifty-nine years old, he at once began the study of the Irish language, and circulated, in English and Irish, portions of Holy Scripture, the Prayer Book, and such elementary instruction in Christian doctrine as he thought suitable to the conditions of the people. He got the Old Testament translated into Irish under his own supervision, though it was not published till forty-four years after his death. The majority of the Roman Catholic priests in his diocese were too ignorant to do more than read the offices without understanding them ; but some of them, better informed, accepted his teaching, and he instituted them into parishes. His gentleness, and the diligence with which he taught the people through the medium of their own language, were gradually winning them over to a knowledge of Christian truth when the great rebellion broke out. For a time he, and those who took shelter with him, were left undisturbed, when other bishops and clergy fled for their lives ; but he was at length imprisoned in an old ruined castle on an island in Lough Outer. It was winter ; and when a few weeks later he was exchanged for some rebel leaders, it was found that anxiety and hardship had

injured his health ; and he died a few weeks after his release. His funeral was attended by many of his rebel neighbours, who really appreciated his virtues, and declared that as he was the best of the English, so he should be the last. A Roman Catholic priest present, remembering the good bishop's piety, exclaimed, " May my soul be with Bedell."

CHAPTER XXXII.

DURING THE USURPATION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the terrible injuries inflicted on the Church during the rebellion of 1641, she continued to discharge her sacred duties amidst every difficulty, until six years later, when a fresh calamity practically silenced her voice in the land for a time.

The Marquis of Ormonde, who was at this time Lord Lieutenant, nobly exerted himself, not only to restore order and to support the king's authority, but also to regain for the Church what was possible of "her rights and privileges, her buildings, and jurisdiction." In the north, a small army under General Munroe, which the king sent from Scotland, was also endeavouring to put down the rebellion.

Ormonde hoped to gain assistance in Ireland for the king, and would gladly have listened to the overtures of the Kilkenny Confederation ; but they demanded the absolute establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland as the price of their assistance. This Charles refused to grant. At Edinburgh a Solemn League and Covenant had been framed, by which those who subscribed to it bound themselves, amongst other things, to "extirpate popery and prelacy." The acceptance of the

Covenant, which established Presbyterianism for the three kingdoms, was made a condition by the Scots of giving assistance to the English Parliament against the king. It was approved of by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, who had drawn up a Directory¹ to take the place of the Book of Common Prayer, which they abolished.

Munroe's army in the north of Ireland took the Covenant, and went over to the Parliamentary side, as did most of the Ulster Presbyterians. When Ormonde's position became hopeless, he surrendered his garrison in 1647, by the king's command, to the Parliamentary Commission, rather than to the Irish Confederates.

The use of the Directory was immediately enforced, and the Liturgy strictly prohibited in Ireland as in England. The bishops and clergy were expelled, and the churches and revenues were seized for the State. Many parishes fell into the hands of Presbyterian ministers, or those of other denominations. All public exercise of the offices of the Church of Ireland practically ceased, though in several instances the Liturgy continued to be used in spite of the prohibition.

King Charles I was executed in 1649, and England was declared a Commonwealth.

¹ This Parliamentary Directory contained prayers which the minister might use or supplement, according to his own ability; but it was more a manual of directions than of devotion. It ordered the Lord's Supper to be received standing or sitting, and that there should be no service at burials, but that the body should be placed in the grave without ceremony.

In Ireland, as in Scotland, many repudiated the Commonwealth, and declared for Charles II. The Roman Catholics, terrified at the success of the Puritans, urged Ormonde to return to Ireland, and promised their assistance to restore the monarchy.

Cromwell was sent to Ireland to enforce the authority of the Parliament. He carried out his commission effectually, if ruthlessly; and within nine months subdued the country. Famine and sword carried off thousands.

The English Parliament declared the whole country forfeited, and proceeded to the redistribution of the people. Some were shipped to the West Indies, and over 40,000 of the Irish soldiers embarked for the Continent. The poorer classes were not, as a rule, disturbed; but those of the gentry in the three provinces who had adhered to the king were transplanted to Connaught, and the vacant or forfeited territories granted to Cromwell's soldiers in lieu of pay, or to other settlers. These, however, though Protestants, were members of various sects, and for a time became a further hindrance to the Church on its restoration.

The condition of the country rapidly improved under the stern rule of the Cromwellians; but the condition of the Church during the Commonwealth was deplorable. She suffered more under the rule of the Puritans than she did under that of Queen Mary. The public use of the Book of Common Prayer was forbidden throughout the Three Kingdoms, and episcopally ordained clergymen were pro-

hibited from acting either as private chaplains or as schoolmasters. The stately churches and cathedrals, in whose erection and embellishment the devotion of former generations had found expression, were defaced and defiled, and many of the humbler country churches were destroyed. The Directory, which was to supersede the Liturgy and the Presbyterian system, to which the Church organization was to give place, found but scant recognition, except in Ulster, for the Independents considered themselves competent to discharge all the spiritual duties in a parish without such aids. Much of the Church property had been taken by Parliament for State purposes; but Cromwell allowed his preachers a small salary. A Committee, or Board of Triers, established by his sole authority, and without whose certificate none could obtain the emoluments of a parish, was some check on the character of the appointments both in England and Ireland.

It was chiefly amongst the Cromwellian settlers that Independent congregations were numerous. Presbyterians had possession of nearly all the Ulster parishes, and some near Dublin. The clergy of the Irish Church, persecuted and proscribed, nevertheless remained with their flocks; and, occasionally, were able to hold a service within the walls of a ruined church, as did Jeremy Taylor in Ballinderry, near Lisburn, and Edward Synge in his parish in Donegal.

Such was the condition of the Irish Church at the restoration of Charles II.

Archbishop Ussher [FIG. 27], who died during the Usurpation, was a man of gigantic learning and intellect. In his character there was trace neither of passion nor of self-seeking. No figure is more prominent in the history of Ireland and her Church during the greater part of the seventeenth century



FIG. 27.—JAMES USSHER,
Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland (1625-1655).

than is that of James Ussher. One of the first students of Trinity College, he graduated in 1601, at the first public commencements. His uncle, Henry Ussher, who had also been Primate, helped much towards founding the University of Dublin. The

great learning of James Ussher was early recognised, and while under age he and two others were, by faculty, admitted to Holy Orders on account of the scarcity of preachers. He filled the position of Catechist in the College with great diligence, and all through his life insisted on the importance of catechetical instruction. When the soldiers, on the defeat of the Spaniards at Kinsale, sent over £1,000 to the College to form a library, Ussher was sent to England to procure the books. His early theological views were decidedly Calvinistic, and the incorporation of the Lambeth Articles, at his instance, with the Irish Articles of 1615, tended to influence the clergy in the same direction, though in after-life he greatly modified his opinions. His elevation to the bishopric of Meath in 1620, and to the Primacy five years later, on the death of Archbishop Hampton, was due to the high opinion formed of him by the king. The part he took in reference to the acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the rejection of the English Canons, has already been alluded to. (Page 204.) He was deeply attached to the king, who consulted him on many occasions. His moderate views on the subject of episcopacy induced the Westminster Assembly of Divines to invite him to take part in their deliberations ; but he declined. He suffered much during the rebellion ; and all his property, except his books, was destroyed. His learning and piety were so widely recognised that Cardinal Richelieu offered him a pension, and the free exercise of his religion in France, when it was denied to him

by the Puritans in England. Amongst his works may be mentioned his *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, and his *Old Testament Chronology*, from which the dates inserted in our English Bibles have been taken.

The Parliament granted him a pension, but it was irregularly paid. However, he found an asylum and a home during the last ten years of his life, in the house of the Countess of Peterborough; and on his death Cromwell ordered a public funeral, and permitted the service of the Church to be read over his grave. His valuable collection of books was purchased in 1656 by the officers and soldiers in Ireland, in order to present them to the College library; but for some reason Cromwell had them left at the Castle, where they remained uncared for until the Restoration, when they were placed in the library, as Ussher had intended.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE CHURCH IN CHARLES II'S REIGN.

CHARLES II was restored to the throne in 1660. The nineteen years of sore trial through which the Church of Ireland had passed since the rebellion of 1641, had told sadly on her hierarchy, as on her humbler members. The four Archbishops—Ussher of Armagh, Bulkeley of Dublin, Hamilton of Cashel, and Boyle of Tuam—had all passed away, as had also Bishops Webb of Limerick, and Bedell of Kilmore. In fact, there were but eight bishops of the Church alive at the Restoration. These were Bramhall of Derry, Baily of Clonfert, Henry Lesley of Down and Connor, John Lesley of Raphoe, Fuller of Ardfert, Jones of Clogher, Maxwell of Kilmore, and Willams of Ossory.

The services of the Church and the old ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom were at once revived. They had been proscribed and repressed, but not legally abolished, during the usurpation. The temporalities also were restored to the Church, and she received additional grants.

Within three months after the Restoration, Charles filled the vacant Sees. Bramhall was promoted to the Primacy; Fuller became Archbishop of Cashel; and Henry Lesley was translated to Meath. To the

Primate, assisted by the Bishops of Kilmore, Clogher, Raphoe, and Ossory, was entrusted the duty of consecrating the new bishops, who had all been chosen from amongst the Irish clergy.

The consecration of two archbishops and ten bishops at one time, and by the same persons, was an event not only of great importance, but was probably unique in the history of the Christian Church. It was performed in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, on 27th January, 1661. Jeremy Taylor, the new Bishop of Down, preached the consecration sermon; and the service was attended by the mayor and the municipal officials of Dublin, and also by the members of the General Convention, specially summoned for the occasion. In the March following, the full number of the Irish episcopate (four archbishops and seventeen bishops) was completed by the consecration of Thomas Price, Archdeacon of Kilmore, as Bishop of Kildare.

It was in Ulster that the revival of the Church's organization met with most opposition. The Presbyterian ministers—all Covenanters—had taken possession of the parishes, and were unwilling to resign them.

By the Irish Act of Uniformity, which was still unrepealed, none could hold benefices unless they had received episcopal ordination, and used the Book of Common Prayer. Through the judicious action of the Primate, many of the Presbyterian ministers in Armagh accepted ordination from him, conformed, and retained their benefices.] But in

the other northern dioceses, fifty-nine refused the necessary conditions, and were ejected from the parishes.

In England the Presbyterian ministers who had obtained possession of parishes during the usurpation were at first less hostile to the Church than those in Ireland and Scotland. They professed to be willing to accept a modified form of episcopacy, and were satisfied "concerning the lawfulness of a Liturgy," as indeed in the earlier days were both Knox and Calvin, each of whom compiled a liturgical service. The Presbyterians asked for a revision of the Prayer Book, and the consideration of certain objections which they made to it. To meet their wishes, the Savoy Conference was held. Twelve bishops and twelve Presbyterian divines met in consultation. It only resulted in making each party more irreconcilable. However, Convocation, which was then sitting, appointed, with the king's authority, a committee of bishops to revise the Prayer Book.

It is only necessary here to mention some of the more important alterations made in the Prayer Book at this revision. The new preface then added clearly states the principles on which the revision was carried out, and classifies the changes under several heads according to their general character.

1. Changes made in the Calendars and Rubrics for the better direction of them that officiate; such, for example, as those which direct the presentation of the alms; the covering of the consecrated elements which remain with a linen cloth; the form

of consecrating additional bread and wine when required, &c.

2. The alteration of words and phrases in order to make the meaning more clear ; such, for instance, as substituting in the litany "bishops, priests, and deacons," instead of "bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church," to assert more distinctly the three-fold order of the ministry. Changing the word "minister" into "priest," in the rubric before the absolution, and putting "Church" instead of "congregation" in various places. In the order in Council concerning kneeling, which had been removed in 1559, and now again placed at the end of the Communion Office, the words which asserted that no adoration was intended to any "real and essential presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood," were changed into any "corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood."

3. The Epistles, Gospels, and other portions of Holy Scripture inserted in the Liturgy, were taken from the Authorized Version of the Bible (1611), except the psalms, canticles, commandments, offertory sentences, and "comfortable words," which were allowed to remain as in the translation of the Great Bible made seventy-one years before.

4. Additional prayers and thanksgivings were added, among which were the prayers for all conditions of men, for Parliament, for fair weather, three new collects, the general thanksgiving, and the thanksgiving for restoring public peace at home.

5. Two new Services were also added, viz., a form of prayer for use at sea, and an office for the baptism of those of riper years, rendered necessary by the growth of Anabaptism, &c.

Alterations such as these made little change in the distinctive features of the Prayer Book.

The revised Book, sanctioned by the necessary authorities, and enforced by an Act of Uniformity, came into use in 1662, since which time it has continued¹ unaltered in the Church of England.

In the same year the Irish Convocation accepted the revised Prayer Book, with the addition of a prayer for the chief governor, and a Service for 23rd October, which was the anniversary of the commencement of the Rebellion of 1641. The Irish Act of Uniformity, rendering its use obligatory, was not passed till 1666. In consequence of these Acts, which enforced the use of the Book of Common Prayer, many Nonconformists in England and Ireland were deprived of the parishes which they held, just as the clergy of the Church had previously been ejected from them for refusing to take the Covenant.

The general discontent of the Puritans, who had so long domineered over others, resulted in an attempted insurrection. But in Ireland the vigilance of Lord Ormonde enabled him to check the Ulster Presbyterians before their plans for the contemplated rebellion were fully ripe; as he did also the plots of the Roman Catholics for a similar purpose.

¹ The Table of Lessons was revised in 1871.

The Acts of Settlement and Explanation rearranged the ownership of the forfeited lands which Cromwell had granted to his followers; and, in settling those which he himself had confiscated, Charles restored the lands which had been taken from the Church, and also granted some as educational endowments—for example, the Oxmantown¹ estate, on which was built “the King’s Hospital,” Dublin, better known as the Blue Coat School.

The Church was now once again making earnest efforts to regain her position in the land, and fulfil her mission. For this she owed much to the individual efforts of her sons, amongst whom may be specially mentioned two of the laity, the Marquis of Ormonde and the Hon. Robert Boyle. The former, in his position of governor, proved himself a true friend to the Church’s interests; the latter, by his piety and liberality, enabled her in some measure to discharge a duty towards the native Irish that had been too long neglected. The Irish printing type provided by Queen Elizabeth had been sold by the king’s printers to the Jesuits in the reign of James I. At his own cost, the Hon. Robert Boyle provided a fount of Irish type, and in 1680 reprinted the Church Catechism and Daniel’s Irish version of the New Testament. In 1685 he was also instrumental in publishing the Old Testament, which, under the guidance and revision of Bishop Bedell, had been translated into Irish nearly fifty years before.

¹The name of this district in the north-west of Dublin still preserves the memory of the Ostmen or early Danish settlement there: Oxmantown being the modern form of the old name—Ostmen-town.

Had the Bible and Prayer Book been given to the people in their own language at the beginning of the Reformation, the history of Ireland and her Church would have been very different from what it is. But the sixteenth century passed away before any portion of God's Word was printed in Irish, and the eighteenth century had almost dawned before an Irish Bible was printed. We can, therefore, scarcely wonder that the Reformation made comparatively little progress in Ireland, torn also as the country was by almost constant wars and insurrections.

Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor, died in 1667, at the early age of fifty-five, after an episcopate of seven years. He was an Englishman by birth, but he fully entered into the needs and trials of the Irish Church, in which most of his ministerial life was passed. Justly esteemed as the most eloquent divine of his age, his works have also brought him a world-wide fame. His *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, which have proved so helpful to many, show the piety and humility of the writer; while his other theological writings—*The Rule of Conscience*, *Dissuasive from Popery*, and his works on liturgical forms and episcopacy—show that he was also an able champion of the Church against her Presbyterian and Romanist opponents.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PERSECUTION UNDER JAMES II.

THE Church of Ireland, notwithstanding many trials and much opposition, had during the quarter of a century which elapsed between the Restoration and the somewhat sudden death of Charles II, made much progress towards repairing the devastation wrought by the usurpation. Private munificence had helped much towards the restoration of the churches and the extension of spiritual work—such, for example, as that of Williams, Bishop of Ossory, who found his cathedral and palace at Kilkenny in ruins, “bare walls without roofs, without windows but the holes, and without doors.” He lived in one room of his house, and devoted more than his first year’s income to restore the Cathedral. [FIG. 28.]

The turmoil of the early part of the reign of Charles II was succeeded by comparative tranquillity, and the Church was gradually winning her way into the people’s affections. The Earl of Clarendon, on resigning the position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, could testify that “the churches here are as much frequented, and the discipline of the Church as well observed, as in England itself; which is to be attributed to the piety and labours of my lords the

bishops." But, with the accession of James II, another time of persecution and trial was soon to come—the third since the Reformation. James was an avowed Roman Catholic, but had sworn to maintain the Church of England. Yet, with an imprudence and bigotry which ultimately cost him his throne, he bent all his energies to the re-establishment of Romanism. The majority of the people in Ireland were of his

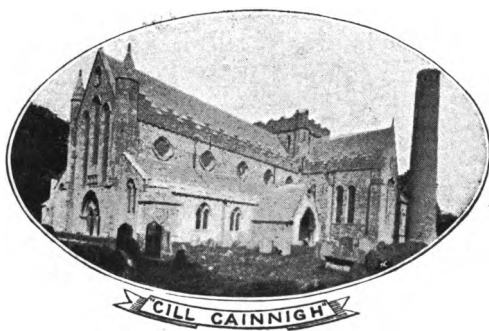


FIG. 28.

By permission, from a block the property of Kilkenny Select Vestry.

own faith, and he hoped to use Ireland to further his designs in England. Except during the usurpation, there had been little persecution for religious opinions. There was scarcely a single enactment on the Irish statute book imposing penalties on Romanists as such. No person whom the Government desired to promote was excluded from office, and the Houses of Parliament were open to men of

all religious opinions. The Irish laws against Non-conformists, requiring them to take the oath of supremacy, were a dead letter. "There was free liberty of conscience by connivance, though not by law."

James soon changed all this in his desire to destroy the Church. As an Englishman and a Roman Catholic, he had a splendid opportunity of allaying the animosities which separated the native Romanists and the English Protestant colonists. He chose rather to accentuate their differences. The Earl of Ormonde was recalled, and his successor soon gave place to the Earl of Tyrconnel. He was a descendant of a "degenerate" English family, a man of dissolute life, who by a course of infamy, in pandering to the vices of Charles and James, had ingratiated himself into their favour. He is generally known as "Lying Dick Talbot." James sent him to Ireland to further the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion. The arrival of Tyrconnel as Lord Lieutenant, indicating, as it did, James's designs, created the greatest alarm amongst the Protestants; and within a short time over 1,500 families, chiefly from the neighbourhood of Dublin, left the country. Almost every Protestant in the Privy Council, on the bench, or in the army, was dismissed, and Roman Catholics put in their places. Protestants were forbidden to enlist as soldiers; and 6,000 Protestant veterans were dismissed, and went to strengthen the army of William, Prince of Orange.

The administration was wholly in the hands of Roman Catholics, who were particularly hostile, not

only to the Church, but also to the English colonists. Many churches were seized, and Mass was celebrated in them. Roman teachers were intruded into some of the diocesan schools ; and other schools of private endowment, as Kilkenny College, were closed and turned to other uses. The Fellows of Trinity College were expelled, and many of the bishops and clergy had to seek safety in flight ; the revenues of their parishes and Sees were seized by the Crown, as were also those of four Sees which fell vacant, and to which James refused to appoint bishops. From these funds salaries were paid to the Roman titular bishops.

While Tyrconnel was acting thus in Ireland, the glaring violation of the laws of England was rousing intense opposition to James. He disregarded every law which came in conflict with his own arbitrary will. His infatuated breach of the Constitution, in order to re-introduce Romanism, was opposed by many of the Roman Catholic gentry ; and the leading Nonconformists, whom he hoped to attach to him by a declaration of indulgences, refused to accept religious freedom at the expense of civil liberty.

The birth of a son, to be educated by the Jesuits who crowded the Court, left no alternative, in the opinion of those who valued civil and religious liberty, but to invite William, Prince of Orange, and his wife, Mary, daughter of James II, to aid them in obtaining that national freedom which James denied them.

William undertook the difficult and dangerous task. James would take no warning. Tyrconnel

had trained in Ireland a vast army of Roman Catholic soldiers. These were brought to England. It was another false step on the part of James. The English people resented an invasion of Irish soldiers, whose fathers, they said, had massacred the English settlers in 1641. The country was in a ferment. It rose against James and his Irish allies. William landed in England; James fled to France. The Parliament declared the throne vacant, and formally offered it to William and Mary, by whom it was accepted.

Thus legally and constitutionally, and almost without one drop of blood being shed, was accomplished the great Revolution to which we owe the establishment of that civil and religious liberty which has raised the kingdom from a position of weakness to that of its present greatness and power.

James, however, had still many adherents, particularly in Ireland, which Tyrconnel held for him. It was some time before the pressing affairs in England permitted William to give much attention to Ireland, which for about two years was practically independent. It was a time of intense suffering and trial for the Church and for all the Protestant inhabitants.

James landed in Ireland with French support early in 1689, hoping thus to recover his kingdom. His position was a strange one. His Irish supporters cared nothing for his cause—their chief aim was to use him for the destruction of the Irish Church, and the expulsion of the English. His French

supporters aided him as a means of increasing the power of France ; and James was willing to sacrifice the English colony and the island for such support. The churches were being seized throughout the country, though they had been rebuilt, many of them, by the Protestant parishioners. Every position of trust was in the hands of Roman Catholics. The Protestant inhabitants were disarmed and in country places were unable to defend their lives or property. Many found their way to the north, where they joined the noble defenders of Enniskillen and of Derry. The heroic defence of the latter, under the Rev. George Walker, compelled James to raise the siege and retire to Dublin. There he held a Parliament. The Acts passed at it will give some idea of what would have been in store for the Irish Church and country, had the cause of James been successful. The Act of Settlement was repealed, and over 2,000 people attainted by name ; thus almost all the English property in the country was confiscated ; the tithes were transferred from the clergy to the Roman Catholic priests, and the legal right of the clergy to their property was taken away. Protestants were forbidden to leave the parishes in which they resided, and it was declared illegal for more than five of them to meet together. Fortunately, King William came to Ireland, and, by his world-famed victory at the Boyne, in 1690, drove James from the country, and saved the Church and the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland from further outrage and spoliation.

CHAPTER XXXV.

IN THE REIGNS OF WILLIAM III AND QUEEN ANNE.

BY the victory of the Boyne and the flight of James, William became master of the greater part of the country ; but it was not till nearly two years later, that the Battle of Aughrim and the Treaty of Limerick gave him undisputed possession of the kingdom. The native Irish were thoroughly subdued, and for nearly a century made no further serious effort at rebellion.

Once more the Church of Ireland was permitted to renew her work. Thrice within less than fifty years had she well-nigh been destroyed—in the rebellion of 1641, during the Usurpation, and in the reign of James II. There was but little time or opportunity, in the intervals, to strengthen her position, or to extend her influence.

The bishops and clergy who had been obliged to flee from their dioceses now returned. Only seven bishops had remained in Ireland during these troublous times. James II had steadily refused to fill up the episcopal vacancies which occurred during his reign ; these were now filled by William. Amongst the more important appointments may be

noticed that of Narcissus Marsh, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, to the Archbishopric of Cashel ; Tennison, Bishop of Limerick, was translated to Clogher ; Foy became Bishop of Waterford ; and Dr. William King, Dean of St. Patrick's, was consecrated Bishop of Derry—a position which had been intended for Rev. George Walker, who was killed at the Battle of the Boyne.

Some of the bishops and clergy considered it inconsistent with their oath of allegiance to James II to take such oath to William. These were called Non-Jurors. In England eight bishops resigned, and about 400 clergy gave up their livings for conscience' sake. Sheridan, Bishop of Kilmore, and Charles Leslie, Chancellor of Connor, seem to have been the only Non-Jurors in Ireland who were deprived.

The Presbyterians made a vigorous effort to have episcopacy abolished in Ulster, and their own religious system established. William, however, refused to grant their request ; but in consideration of their loyalty to him, and the valour displayed by them at Derry and other places, in common with the members of the Church, he authorized a sum of £1,200 yearly to be paid to trustees for the benefit of their ministers. This grant, afterwards largely augmented, was continued till 1871, when a capital sum equivalent to a life interest in it was given to the Presbyterian body out of the funds of the Irish Church, which were appropriated by Government on her disestablishment and disendowment.

The Irish Parliament called by James II was not recognised by the nation ; and its Acts were consequently annulled, and the status of the clergy and colonists restored. The extraordinary virulence of the Acts of James's Parliament showed the spirit which animated the Irish against English and Protestant interests, and how these would have fared if there had been power to enforce the Acts.

On the Continent, too, where the Romanists had the power, the same spirit of intolerant hatred against Protestants was exemplified, not only in the horrors of the Inquisition in Spain, but in the persecution of the Waldenses, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1689), on account of which so many Protestants fled from France, and sought new homes in England and Ireland.

For over a century, the Roman Catholic party, under the influence of foreign instigation, had been plotting and intriguing against the Reformation and the power of England. In Ireland particularly, that party had been made the tool of foreign powers, whose previous history ought to have showed clearly that they cared little for the Irish people, save in so far as they were able to inflame their passions, and use them against the progress of the Reformation.

Hitherto there had been no penal enactments on the Irish statute book against Roman Catholics as such. There was toleration for all religious convictions, provided they did not find expression in insurrection and rebellion. But it was felt that an

effort should be made to rid the country of those regular (monastic) priests and friars, who, unconnected with parochial duties, had swarmed into the country as Papal agents, and devoted their energies to the promotion of rebellious projects. An Act was passed expelling them and the intruding bishops from the country; but the celebration of Roman Catholic rites was not interfered with, as an ordinary secular priest was allowed to remain in each parish.

This precautionary measure, and others of a less defensible character, which, unfortunately, were thought necessary in the next reign, formed the commencement of those penal laws from which the Roman Catholics too long continued to suffer after the conditions which called them into being had passed away. The penal code, which deprived Roman Catholics of the parliamentary franchise, and other rights of citizens, though falling far short of that in force on the Continent against Protestants, was severely felt; but it prevented, for almost a century, any serious political disturbance.

The cause of civil and religious liberty, rendered possible by the revolution of 1688, had not yet fully triumphed, though much had been accomplished. Not till more than a century later was the principle of full toleration of religious convictions understood even by the Reformed Church.

These penal laws against Roman Catholics, though seldom enforced, reacted injuriously also on the interests of the Church whose members imposed them. They raised a further barrier against the mutual

good feeling and confidence which must exist before the question of religious differences can be calmly considered.

During the reigns of William and Anne there were but few parliamentary enactments which directly benefited the Irish Church ; and these related chiefly to the building of glebe houses and churches, many of which had been destroyed during the frequent disturbances. An Act of William encouraged the building of glebe houses, by imposing two-thirds of the cost on the successor of an incumbent who built one. By an Act passed in Anne's reign, permission was granted to change the sites of certain churches to more convenient positions, where there was but one church for a union of parishes. An Act also permitted certain specified parishes to be divided, and unions dissolved in which the number of parishes had become too large for one incumbent—as, for example, in the case of Derrynoose and Tynan, in County Armagh, which had been united in the reign of Charles II. The union was dissolved in 1709, and a new church was built at Madden, by which name the parish has since been generally known. In other cases also, no doubt, the ancient names of parishes have been changed from similar causes.

Convocation met in 1703 for the first time for thirty-seven years. It met four times afterwards in the reign of Anne, the last meeting of Convocation before the Disestablishment of the Church being in 1713. The subjects which chiefly occupied the

attention of Convocation at this time were those of education, and the necessity of employing missionary clergymen to preach in Irish to the people, and of circulating amongst them Bibles, Prayer Books, and the Church Catechism in the same language. There was, however, but little earnestness on the subject either in Parliament or amongst the majority of the bishops, and the projects were not fully carried out.

Private zeal and munificence, however, did much towards furthering those objects which Parliament and Convocation had failed to accomplish. To the liberality of the Queen herself the Church was deeply indebted. The Crown received from the clergy the first year's income of their parishes, and also a tax of one shilling in the pound. These, amounting in all to about £1,000 a year, the Queen voluntarily renounced. She relinquished the twentieths to the clergy, and allowed the First Fruits to be paid to a number of bishops as a board of trustees, to be applied towards procuring glebe houses and purchasing impropriate tithes when possible. This, known as Queen Anne's Bounty, was ratified by her successor; and, being carefully managed, proved a great boon to the clergy, whose parishes were at that time so poor that a union of five or six parishes often scarce sufficed to secure an income of £50 for the incumbent. The evils of lay impropriations, originating in many cases in pre-Reformation times, were equally felt in the English Church, where the income of many parishes was

under £20 a year. The English clergy, too, except in the cities, generally occupied a worse social position than those of the Irish Church.

Individual effort also did much towards extending the spiritual influence of the Church, notwithstanding the apathy of many in authority, and the hindrances arising from the penal enactments. An instance may be mentioned to show that, had judicious efforts been made to carry out the recommendations of Convocation, and to enlighten the people through the medium of their own language, many would have gladly adhered to the Reformed Church. In the Diocese of Clogher, by the advice of Bishop Ashe and the assistance of Audley Mervin, a godly layman, Nicholas Brown, Rector of Dromore, a good Irish scholar, made a special effort to instruct the native Irish. He was gladly received by the people, many of whom became communicants of the Church. The people were very pleased to have the prayers in their own tongue. A Roman Catholic priest, endeavouring to win some of them back, asserted that the Church "had stolen those prayers from the Church of Rome," but was answered by an old man, "that if it was so, they had stolen the best of them." Similar successful efforts were made in the Dioceses of Armagh and Cloyne. About 6,000 copies each of the Prayer Book and Church Catechism were printed in English and Irish, and circulated in Ireland and Scotland, through the co-operation of the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. But private efforts, however

successful for a time, cannot be long sustained. These efforts to reach the native Irish were not actively furthered by the ruling authorities, who evidently appeared very lukewarm in their desire for the conversion of the people, and comparative failure was the result.

Though there were many men of learning and piety raised to the episcopate, yet there were some who were very negligent in the discharge of their duties during the reigns of William and of Queen Anne. In 1714 Archbishop King asserted that in the province of Armagh there had been but one resident bishop for several years, and that there were then but two. A large share of patronage had fallen to King William, who in twelve years had appointed twenty bishops. Only nine bishops died during the twelve years of Queen Anne's reign.

Boyle, the Primate, who had been one of the twelve bishops consecrated at the Restoration of Charles II, lived till the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, and was succeeded in the primacy by Narcissus Marsh, then Archbishop of Dublin. Marsh was succeeded in Dublin by King, Bishop of Derry. Of Boyle's episcopate, extending over a period of forty-one years, in Cork, Dublin, and Armagh, there is but little to record. He does not seem to have used his position as effectively as he might have done to promote the interests of the Church.

A brief account, however, of the life of his successor, during his thirty-four years' connection with the Irish Church, may be helpful towards realizing

the conditions under which she carried on her work at that time. Narcissus Marsh, a native of Wiltshire, was appointed Provost of Trinity College in 1679, and within four years was consecrated Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin. He did much to restore the Church, and place the diocese in a state of efficiency. During the persecutions in James II's reign he was obliged to seek safety in Dublin, where also he was in considerable danger. For a time he found shelter in the Provost's house; but when the family fled from it, he was unable to stay longer in the city, "not having money to maintain himself." He succeeded in reaching London, and was kindly received by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and others. He remained in London some four months, and, by presents of money which he received, was able to do something to relieve some of the Irish clergy there, who had also been obliged to flee from Ireland. After the defeat of James, he returned to Ireland, and was translated to the Archbishopric of Cashel; and in 1694 he succeeded Francis Marsh in the See of Dublin, from whence, in 1703, he was advanced to the Primacy, which position he occupied till his death in 1713. To his munificence we owe Marsh's Library in Dublin, which he built at a cost of £4,000, and endowed it with an income for a librarian. As Primate he was most diligent in Parliament and Convocation, and at his own cost restored many churches, and purchased back many impropriations.

In William III's reign an Order of Council was

issued by the king, permitting a new metrical version of the Psalms, by Tate and Brady, to be sung in the churches. Hymns, however, were not admitted into the Services without special "royal allowance and permission," which Queen Anne granted in 1703 for certain hymns, included in a supplement to the new version of the Psalms.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CHURCH IN THE REIGNS OF GEORGE I
AND GEORGE II.

THE legislative enactments which directly affected the Church of Ireland during the reigns of George I and George II—a period of nearly half a century (1714-1760)—were but few, and comparatively unimportant. They related chiefly to the extension of former Acts in reference to the union of parishes, and the erection of churches and glebe houses. The bishops had power to unite the churches and revenues of the smaller parishes; but such unions lasted only during the occupancy of the incumbent for whose benefit they had been made. In such cases the burden of maintaining the fabric of the church rested only on that parish of the union in which the church happened to be situated. The unions were now made permanent, and each portion of the union was compelled to bear its part in maintaining the fabric of the church, until at least a church was erected within its own bounds. A general permission was also given to change the sites of existing churches to more suitable positions, if sanctioned by the Privy Council, a special Act of Parliament having hitherto been required for each separate case. In order to encourage

wealthy proprietors to build and endow chapels of ease in populous districts, the power of nominating the clergy to such cures was granted to them and their heirs, under conditions somewhat similar to those granted to laymen who surrendered the inappropriate tithes which had come into their possession. This Act tended much to increase the number of lay patrons. Hence, during the first half of the eighteenth century the number of churches and glebe houses was considerably increased, to secure which both Archbishop King and the Primate were constant in their exertions.

But while direct legislation—so far as it affected the Church of Ireland—was generally favourable to her material prosperity, other causes tended to weaken her influence and retard her progress. For example, the country suffered much during the eighteenth century from the deliberate suppression of her native industries, and many of the people were in abject poverty.

When William III had restored peace to Ireland, many of the landlords, particularly in Ulster, were glad to set their farms at low rents. The leases then granted were now falling in, and, as a rule, the lands were put up to the highest bidder. The Roman Catholics, eager to get possession of farms, promised exorbitant rents, which they were often unable to pay. The Protestant tenants thus ejected, as well as operatives and mechanics unable to get work, emigrated to America in great numbers every year. The Church was thus weakened by the loss of an

industrious class of parishioners, though, no doubt, many of those who left were Presbyterians.

The Church suffered from another cause. The rebellion of 1715 showed that the exiled Stuarts had still many sympathizers in the British Isles, though but few in Ireland gave the Pretender active support. Yet in Ireland, as in England, many of the clergy took but little pains to conceal their dislike of the Hanoverian dynasty. Irish interests, as distinct from English interests, were beginning to be recognised, and amongst the colonists of English descent there were many who—like Molyneux, in William III's reign—continued to question the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland—a right which in 1719 the English Parliament distinctly asserted. Many even of those most favourable to the Hanoverian line—as Dean Swift and Archbishop King—had distinctive Irish interests at heart, and worked energetically for the good of the country. Hence, the fixed and avowed policy of the king was to fill most of the principal offices in Church and State with men from England, or with others thoroughly devoted to English interests. Episcopal appointments were avowedly made from political motives, to the general discontent of the clergy, and the detriment of the spiritual interests of the Church.

Primate Lindsay, who succeeded Marsh, died in 1724. King, Archbishop of Dublin, an Irishman devoted to the Hanoverian succession, but zealous in promoting the interests of his country, was passed over, and Hugh Boulter, Bishop of Bristol, was made

Primate. For the eighteen years during which he occupied the primacy, he exerted his influence in promoting Englishmen to the Irish episcopate, and to the higher offices in the State, in order "to strengthen English interests."

Shortly after his appointment, the Primate—during an illness of Archbishop King—wrote to the Prime Minister, "I think His Majesty's service absolutely requires that, when he drops, the place be filled with an Englishman;" and in reference to the Irish Lord Chancellorship, he wrote a few weeks later, "I must request . . . that you use your interest to have none but Englishmen put into the great places for the future." In spite of many protests from Archbishop King, Dean Swift, and others, the interests of the Church and of religion were too often sacrificed to what was considered political expediency. Out of fourteen consecrations to bishoprics during Primate Boulter's time, more than half were of men of English birth, and the same system was continued for many years after his death. Personal fitness for the sacred office was often but of secondary consideration. "From the highest to the lowest vicar," writes Swift, "there were hardly ten clergymen throughout the whole kingdom for more than nineteen years preceding 1733, who had not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the same." Some, no doubt, were excellent clergymen, and, like Primate Boulter himself, endeavoured to promote the welfare

of the Church and her mission ; but others of secular disposition seldom resided in their dioceses, and seemed not to realize the sacred character of their calling. Many of the episcopal appointments were of men from obscure English parishes, and, as a rule, those who came over as chaplains to the Lord Lieutenants, succeeded to vacant bishoprics. This naturally created discontent amongst the Irish clergy, for those "foreign" bishops generally promoted their English friends and relations to the best livings in their gift, to the exclusion of those who had spent their lives in the service of the Irish Church.

Archbishop King bitterly complained of this injustice to the Irish clergy and to Dublin University. "'Tis a grief to me to consider that I have above forty curates in my diocese, most of them worthy men, and some of them that have served near twenty years, and I am not able to give or promise them a vicarage."

Yet, in spite of this want of encouragement for native clergy and Dublin graduates, the Church of Ireland continued to make way, and to attract to its ministry men of education and social position. "I hope," writes Dean Swift to the Lord Lieutenant, "that the clergy of Ireland will have their share in your patronage. There is hardly a gentleman in the nation who has not a near alliance with some of that body, and most of them who have sons usually bind one of them to the Church, although they have been of late years much discouraged and discontented by seeing strangers to the country almost

perpetually taken into the greatest ecclesiastical preferments."

During the first half of the eighteenth century the Church advanced considerably in material prosperity, more even than the English Church did.

In many ways there was also much done to advance the education of the people, and to secure a wider appreciation of Gospel truths. It was a time of much irreligion. A spirit of scepticism was very prevalent amongst the higher classes in England. On the Continent it found fearful expression in the French Revolution of 1789. The Irish Church was not destitute of men capable of guarding their flocks against sceptical tendencies. Such were Archbishop King, Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, and Brown, Bishop of Cork. Nor were the poorer classes altogether neglected. Though there were no copies of the Bible printed in Irish during the whole of the eighteenth century, and the two editions of the New Testament published in the previous century only numbered 500 and 750 copies each, and the edition of the Old Testament consisted of only 500 copies, yet private efforts did much in other directions. Through the exertions of Dr. Maule, Bishop of Cloyne, "The Incorporated Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland" was founded by letters patent in 1733, and has continued since to be one of the most efficient and useful educational societies in Ireland.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

KING, BOULTER, STEARNE, AND BERKELEY.

EVEN a short account of the lives of some of the more eminent prelates who passed away during the first half of the eighteenth century, may prove helpful towards understanding the conditions under which the Church of Ireland was obliged to carry on her work.

For a period of nearly half a century Dr. William King [FIG. 29] was a prominent figure in the Irish Church, and exercised a most salutary influence on her fortunes. His father, a Scotch Presbyterian, resident in Ulster, was excommunicated for refusing to enter into the Solemn Covenant, and for six months Baptism was refused to his son, who was born in 1650. The future Archbishop entered Trinity College at the age of seventeen, and in the same year was elected to a Scholarship. While at the University he acquired, in addition to his intellectual and spiritual training, habits of frugality and self-reliance, which helped him much in the positions he was afterwards called upon to occupy. In his own account of these times he writes that besides the Scholarship, "I had scarce twenty pounds in all the six years I spent in college. . . . Yet herein do I acknowledge God's providence, that I

was able to appear nearly all that time decently drest and sufficiently fed." On his ordination he became chaplain to Parker, Archbishop of Tuam; but the sudden change from college fare evidently did not agree with him. "A dinner of sixteen dishes, and a supper of twelve, with abundant



FIG. 29.—WILLIAM KING, D.D.,
Archbishop of Dublin (1703-1729).

variety of wines and other generous liquors," soon told on him, and he adds, "Before I had begun to dream of ill effects, I was taken with the gout."

Archbishop Parker was translated to Dublin in 1678, and appointed King as Chancellor of St. Patrick's, of which cathedral he afterwards became

Dean. Though at first he favoured the House of Stuart, yet the unconstitutional and illegal acts of James II compelled him to transfer his allegiance to the Prince of Orange.

Francis Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, like many others, was obliged to seek safety in England from the persecutions and dangers to which the members of the Church were exposed in the latter part of James's reign. He left the affairs of the diocese in Dr. King's hands as his commissary. It was a post which demanded courage and energy of character. Poor members of the Church, whose property had been seized, were to be assisted, and the Church Services maintained in many parishes of the diocese from which the clergy had fled. Aided by Dopping, Bishop of Meath, he endeavoured to discharge the duties with which he was entrusted. He was, however, thrown into prison, where he remained for five months. Soon after his release he was again imprisoned, with about 3,000 others, who were only set at liberty after the victory of the Boyne. On Dean King—in the absence of the Archbishop—devolved the duty of preaching the sermon at the service of thanksgiving for the victory. The king was present, and on being told that the preacher was William King, remarked that their names were both alike—King William and William King. In the same year, 1690, when His Majesty was filling up the five bishoprics left vacant by James, he appointed King to the See of Derry. The diocese, like other parts of the North, was in a sad state from the effect of three

years' constant war within it. Houses, churches, and farms were destroyed, and the diocesan organization was in utter confusion. The bishop threw himself with energy into his work, and compelled the clergy to return to their parishes. He subscribed liberally towards the erection of schools, and churches, and glebe houses; and succeeded in arousing such a spirit within the diocese, that seven new churches were erected and many restored, in some of which Service had not been held since the Reformation. The new Bishop of Derry was not only a good organizer, but a man of deep spirituality. He attended not only to the material prosperity of his diocese, but also to the diligent discharge of his spiritual duties. His two books, on *Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, and *An Admonition to the Dissenters in the Diocese of Derry*, proved helpful to Church people in answering Presbyterian objections; and, as a result, many Presbyterians became members of the Church, and were confirmed. On the death of Primate Doyle, in 1703, Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, was translated to Armagh, and was succeeded in Dublin by Dr. King. The appointment was not of his own seeking; he had known the See for thirty years, and, as commissary to Francis Marsh, had governed it for some time. In his opinion it was, from appropriations and impropriations, "in worse circumstances than most others in the kingdom."

The Protestant population of Dublin had greatly increased since the Revolution, and the city was growing rapidly. The congregation at St. Patrick's

Cathedral numbered 1,000; and in some of the other churches the attendance was almost as large. There was a great need of new churches, and, as in Derry, the Archbishop zealously endeavoured to have it supplied. In a few years he repaired fourteen churches, rebuilt seven, and erected nineteen in places where no Divine Service had been performed since the Reformation. He succeeded in obtaining the necessary separate Acts of Parliament for each subdivision of parishes—such, for example, as that of the old parishes of St. Michan, St. Audöen, and St. Catherine. He secured also for them suitable glebe houses, and raised the incomes of some of the parishes thus formed by attaching to them the prebends of St. Patrick's as they became vacant. These improvements were not effected without considerable opposition. The Corporation of Christ Church Cathedral appears to have been but little anxious to further the cause of religion. The Dean and Chapter had appropriated to themselves the tithes of twenty-seven parishes, and made no provision for the discharge of spiritual duties in them. They resented Archbishop King's efforts to have the spiritual wants of the parishioners adequately met. Moreton, Bishop of Kildare, was also Dean of Christ Church, and with the Chapter refused to acknowledge the Archbishop's jurisdiction. They claimed for it exemption on the ground of its being the Chapel Royal of Dublin; but after a lawsuit, extending over twenty years, the point was finally decided in 1724 in favour of the Archbishop.

Party spirit ran very high during the first half of the eighteenth century. Archbishop King, though he favoured the house of Hanover, yet consistently advocated Irish interests, and was therefore not always in good repute with the ruling powers. He was, however, more than once included in the commission of Lords Justices. But when the See of Armagh became vacant, he was passed over in favour of Boulter, an Englishman, who was thought more likely to advance English interests. To Archbishop King and his synods in 1719 we owe the publication, under ecclesiastical authority, of the services for the consecration of churches and churchyards, and for their purification when desecrated. He died in 1729, having for nearly fifty years served the best interests of the Church of Ireland through a time of trial without, and of general apathy within. He was truly a son of the Irish Church and University, a man of more spirituality than were many of those who in the middle of the century had obtained high ecclesiastical positions. His chief literary works were a treatise on *The Origin of Evil*, and a *Sermon on Predestination*; but his *State of the Protestants in Ireland under James II*, and the *Memoirs of his own Life*, as well as the notes collected by him for a History of the Church of Ireland, which he contemplated writing, all afford much information as to the times in which he lived.

Dr. Hugh Boulter, who in 1721 was translated from the See of Bristol to the Primacy of All Ireland, held that position for twenty-one years. The advancement

of English interests in Church and State seems to have been the most prominent feature in his administration, and by this means he evidently considered he would best advance the interests of the Church over which he was called upon to preside. For that he had her interests at heart is shown by the efforts he made to increase her temporalities. There was not that full cordiality between him and Archbishop King which one would have desired; yet in their several ways each did much to further the cause of religion. In Boulter the politician was perhaps more apparent than the ecclesiastic. In all his correspondence relative to Church appointments, the higher ideals of a Christian pastor are seldom alluded to. Political, rather than personal, fitness is generally advanced as the ground of promotion. Yet to Primate Boulter, more than to any other individual, were the clergy of the Church indebted for the boon of ecclesiastical residences, and other benefits. The income which he received as Primate he freely distributed in charitable and useful ways during life, and at his death left over £30,000¹ towards the purchase of glebes and the augmentation of small benefices. He aided many clergy in the education of their children, and built and endowed, at Armagh and Drogheda, houses for clergymen's widows. Though not the originator, yet it was through his instrumentality that the "Incorporated Society for

¹ The bequest of Primate Boulter, and other private endowments for specific purposes, were respected at the time of disendowment, and are still enjoyed by the Church.

Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland" obtained its charter in 1733; and he was a liberal subscriber to its funds.

To Dr. Stearne, Bishop of Clogher, who died in 1745, the Church is still indebted for his thoughtful munificence. He was consecrated Bishop of Dromore in 1713, and was succeeded in the deanery of St. Patrick's by Swift. Having held the See of Dromore for about four years, he was translated to that of Clogher. Amongst his benefactions to the Church, besides large sums given towards various charities, he left £2,000 to the Board of First Fruits, and established ten exhibitions in Trinity College, each of £50 a year, to encourage religious and useful learning. He founded a lectureship in Dublin, still called by his name, and endowed it with £80 a year, besides leaving £40 a year for a chaplain to Swift's Hospital, then lately founded.

George Berkeley [FIG. 30], who was Bishop of Cloyne for nineteen years, died in 1753. He was a man beloved of all; his piety shed lustre on the Church, and his learning did honour to his University. Kant speaks of him as the "good Berkeley;" Swift speaks of him as "an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power;" and Pope attributes to him "every virtue under heaven." He was educated at Kilkenny School, and became a Fellow of Trinity College. There he wrote his famous works, *The New Theory of Vision*, and *The Principles of Human Knowledge*—works which placed him in the foremost rank of metaphysical writers.

He accepted the Deanery of Derry in 1724, from which he published his *Alciphron*, in defence of the truth of Christianity, at which it was then the fashion to scoff. In connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in the reign of William III, he attempted to establish



FIG. 30.—GEORGE BERKELEY, D.D.,
Bishop of Cloyne.

a University in the Bermudas as a centre of missionary effort, and desired to resign his deanery in order to superintend the work. But his resignation was not accepted. Having obtained a charter from the Crown, he proceeded to Rhode Island in 1728, accompanied by three Fellows of Trinity College

and other young clergymen ; but the plan of founding a University failed from want of the Government support which he had expected to obtain, and in 1731 he returned home greatly disappointed. His consecration to the bishopric of Cloyne took place in 1734 ; and though offered more lucrative Sees, he refused all further promotion. Indeed, he wished to resign his See, that he might spend the evening of his life in learned retirement at Oxford ; but his resignation was not accepted, though he took up his residence at Oxford, where he died soon after. Like Swift, who was educated at the same school, Berkeley had the welfare of his native land at heart. In *The Querist*, published in 1735, he suggested the adoption of a policy which would make no distinctions between citizens as to their race, but combine all in the promotion of the welfare of their common country.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE UNION, AND THE CONDITION OF THE
CHURCH AT THAT TIME.

THE law which limited the duration of Parliament to seven years in England did not extend to Ireland. The Parliament of George II lasted for three and thirty years, and was slavishly subservient to the Government. The efforts of Swift and of Berkeley, though for a time partially successful outside, failed to rouse a patriotic spirit amongst the parliamentary representatives. A new Parliament was elected soon after the accession of George III. It contained a considerable minority of members more interested in the social and commercial prosperity of their country than in upholding mere English interests. The restrictions of Poynings' law^r had long been evaded, yet the dependent position of the Irish Parliament, with its English officials, was distasteful to many, though no serious effort to obtain its independence was made till 1780.

The country was gradually improving, both materially and morally. Educational facilities for the

The statute of Drogheda, passed in 1495, when Sir Edward Poynings was Lord Deputy, is known as Poynings' law. Its chief enactment was that no bill could be introduced into the Irish Parliament until it had first been approved of by the English Council.

middle classes were more numerous than formerly; and in many districts the Charter Schools, under the continued patronage of the gentry, were doing good work amongst the poor. The Church was less apathetic than at the beginning of the century, and voluntary religious societies and organizations were formed to extend its work. It was, however, a time of considerable discontent and of danger. The revolt of the American Colonies, and the hostility of France and Spain, caused many soldiers to be withdrawn from Ireland, which was thus left practically defenceless against a threatened French invasion. But the Irish gentry rose to the occasion, and the patriotism of the Protestant population was soon made manifest. Irish Volunteers, 100,000 strong, well armed and trained, amongst whom were also enrolled many of the better-class Roman Catholics, were soon ready to defend their country. These volunteers were not, however, very cordially accepted by the Government, and in a few years were supplanted by a militia. They belonged to a class which suffered severely from commercial restrictions, and as a rule supported the patriotic party in Parliament, which, eloquently led by Grattan and Flood, was demanding legislative independence. The demand was conceded in 1782; and for eighteen years the Irish nation had the power of making its own laws without any interference from the English Parliament. The penal laws against the Roman Catholics had long been a dead letter. They were now voluntarily repealed

by the Irish Parliament, which was composed exclusively of Protestants. Every privilege of civil and religious liberty was granted to Roman Catholics, save only admission to Parliament, for which they had to wait till 1829.

The spread of republican principles in France, where hitherto most of the Roman priests had been educated, and the danger of introducing such principles into Ireland, were made the ground of a request from the Roman hierarchy for a college where men intended for the Roman priesthood might be educated at home. This was granted in 1795, and a sum of £40,000 was voted to establish the College of Maynooth, to which an annual grant of £8,000 was also made for its support. The grant was increased by Sir Robert Peel in 1845 to one of £26,000 a year, which, at the time of the Disestablishment and Disendowment, was commuted for a capital sum of £372,331, paid to the College out of the funds taken from the Church.

The country at this time, and for many years previously, was in a somewhat disturbed state, which was aggravated by the formation of many secret societies. Some of these were specially hostile to the Church, and carried out an organized opposition to the collection of tithes. Many of the clergy suffered much in consequence. In the north the secret societies were particularly aggressive, but became less so when, in self-defence, the Orange Society was founded in 1795. The Irish independent Parliament did not give satisfaction. Presbyterians and

Roman Catholics united in seeking Parliamentary reforms. The disaffection spread, and, encouraged by the hope of material help from France, resulted in the Rebellion of 1798. This rebellion, political in its origin, was carried out in a spirit peculiarly hostile to the Church of Ireland. In County Wexford, where it was more successful than in other parts, it was marked by special acts of atrocity towards the Protestant inhabitants. Some of the clergy were put to death, many Protestants were massacred in cold blood, and others were compelled to become Roman Catholics in order to escape immediate death.¹ Churches were injured, and many valuable Church records destroyed. These atrocities, committed under the sanction of priestly leaders, indicate the spirit with which the Church was regarded by many of those who took part in the rebellion—though one is glad to acknowledge that some of the more humane Roman Catholic priests and people did much to mitigate the fury of the rebels, and saved many from slaughter.

Eighteen years' experience of an independent Irish Parliament was far from successful, nor had the longer trial of a dependent Parliament been

¹ Some of those who thus renounced their religion returned to the Church; others did not. For example, in the parish of Killegney, where this is written, there are some Roman Catholic families whose ancestors "turned in the Rebellion;" and in the parish of Ferns, where, through the courtesy of the present Rector, the Rev. Canon Gibson, I have inspected the Cathedral records, there is a list of persons who, when the rebellion was over, publicly read their recantation in the Cathedral, and were received again into the Church.

more satisfactory. It was felt by many that, as in the case of Scotland, a union of the Parliaments of England and Ireland would tend to promote the best interests of both countries. The Roman Catholic bishops and clergy generally desired the Union. Many of the Protestants violently opposed it; some from self-interest, others because they considered it would prove injurious to the country. The Roman Catholics hoped for better terms from a united Imperial Parliament, in which they expected seats, than could be obtained from a native Parliament, from which they were hopelessly excluded. The Union took place 1st January, 1801, with the sanction of both the English and Irish Parliaments; and under the same authority, without seeking the sanction of either Synod or Convocation—though with the approbation of all the Irish bishops save one—the Church of England and the Church of Ireland were also united. They were henceforth to be known under the common title of “The United Church of England and Ireland,” the continuance and preservation of which United Church “was to be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union.”

The condition of the Church, both in respect to her temporalities and the discharge of her spiritual duties, was more satisfactory at the time of the Union than when George III came to the throne. There was still much apathy, particularly amongst the older clergy; yet many of the bishops and clergy, as well as the laity, seem to have had a

higher appreciation of their duties. The revival of the office of rural dean by Dr. Agar, in the province of Cashel, by Primate Newcome and by O'Beirne, Bishop of Ossory, indicates an earnest desire for efficient diocesan organization. Nor should the formation of "The Association for Discountenancing Vice, and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion," and other societies, be overlooked as evidence of the desire of many godly men to aid the Church in carrying on her work.

Some of the bishops, no doubt, were men of a worldly type, as a result of that system of appointing men more from political motives than from personal fitness—a system from which the Church had specially suffered since the Revolution. Such, for example, was Hervey, Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, who resided much abroad, and when in Ireland preferred to act with the Volunteers, and move about in military pomp, than to attend to the spiritual duties of his diocese. George Stone, who held the Primacy from 1747 to 1765, and had previously occupied the Sees of Ferns and Leighlin, Kildare and Derry, was another example of the worldly type of bishop from which the Church so long suffered. He avowedly held his episcopal duties entirely subordinate to those which he discharged for the State. His successor, Richard Robinson (afterwards Lord Rokeby), gave more attention to the duties of his office, though perhaps less to the spiritual than the temporal needs of the diocese. He erected a number of churches and glebe

houses in new districts, and restored the Cathedral. [FIG. 31.] To him Armagh is much indebted ; he erected and endowed a public library and observatory, and was instrumental in building an infirmary and generally improving the city. At his death he made some bequests to the Church.



NO. 31.—ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, ARMAGH.
From *The Irish Churchman's Almanack*.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century John Wesley visited Ireland, and endeavoured to arouse a deeper interest in personal religion. As a clergyman of the Church of England, he was received in many places, and exercised considerable influence with the members of the Church. Many

societies of Wesleyan Methodists (as his followers were called) were formed, but with no intention whatever of separating from the Church or of founding a sect. Wesley again and again rebuked such tendency wherever he noticed it, and warned them against "the madness which was spreading among them of leaving the Church." In his journal shortly before his death he wrote: "I never had any design of separating from the Church. . . . I live and die a member of the Church of England."

His followers, however, gradually departed in some respects from Wesley's teaching, and formed a sect, which in the present day has developed into various branches, less friendly to the Church than the original societies.

The following statistics may prove helpful towards realizing the material condition of the Church about the time of the Union. More than once attention has been drawn to the great evil inflicted upon the Church through the alienation of her property by lay impropriations and other seizures. The withholding of the tithe of agistment, i.e., of pasturage for dry cattle, by the nobles and Protestant gentry in the Irish Parliament of 1735 was severely felt by the Church. Instead of one-tenth, she received much less than the one-hundredth part of the annual product of the soil. At the time of the Union more than two-sevenths of the whole Church property in the kingdom had been impropriate in the hands of laymen. This alienation proved a great injury to the Church, and rendered necessary the union of several parishes

under a single incumbent, thus reducing the number of clergymen, as well as the number of churches.

At the time of the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, there were 2,436 parishes in Ireland, and nearly 3,000 clergy. About the beginning of the nineteenth century these parishes had been so arranged as to constitute only 1,120 benefices with cure of souls, besides 111 sinecures. There were but 1,001 churches, hence many benefices were without churches, though some had more than one church in them. The clergy numbered about 1,300. There were, however, only 354 glebe houses, many of which had been built during the previous forty years. The rectorial tithes of 562 parishes were impropriate in the hands of laymen, and only the vicarial tithes were left for the supply of clerical duty; and in 118 other parishes the tithes were wholly impropriate.

The patronage of about 1,560 parishes was in the hands of the bishops; that of 295 lay with the Crown. The deans and chapters had the patronage of about 62; and the University of Dublin, 21. The presentations of about 380 belonged to laymen, in addition to the 118 of which they possessed the whole rectorial tithes. The income of the bishoprics had much increased—Armagh was worth £8,000; Dublin, £5,000; Tuam and Cashel, £4,000 each. The other bishoprics ranged from £2,000 to £4,000, except that of Derry, which was endowed to the value of £7,000. The average income of the parochial clergy was about £133, but it was very unequally distributed.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TITHE AGITATION—CHURCH PROGRESS.

THE Roman Catholic hierarchy and others had supported the Union in the hope of obtaining full political freedom from the Imperial Parliament, from which they were excluded. Disappointed in their expectation of immediate relief, they permitted nothing to interfere with their continued agitation for the removal of this grievance until, in 1829, under the influence of O'Connell, the Emancipation Act was passed. The persistent pursuit of this one object, no doubt, saved the Church for a time from direct attack; though on the subject of tithes there was great discontent.

Tithes, as we have seen, were first granted to the Irish clergy at the Synod of Cashel, 1172. The clergy seldom received their due proportion. The refusal of the Protestant landlords in the Parliament of 1735 to pay tithes of agistment, i.e., of pasturage for dry cattle, though the judges had decided on its legality, had reduced many of the clergy to great poverty, as a great part of the country had been turned into pasture land. Tithe itself was not oppressive, for all lands had been granted subject to that tax, which was also taken into account by those

who purchased or rented farms. Neither the owners nor the occupiers of the land were the owners of the tithes; they were simply the medium through which the tithes reached the clergy, who were the owners. But the manner in which the tithes were collected made them very unpopular. They were paid in kind, and the standard on which they were assessed varied in different counties. As the clergy could not themselves collect tithes in kind, they employed proctors to collect them. These were generally men of a low class, who gave the clergy as little as possible, and harshly exacted the utmost from the people. It was also made a grievance by the Roman Catholics that they had to pay tithes which went to the support of the clergy of the Church, though, like everyone else, they received their farms at a proportionately less price, because subject to that payment; and it ought to have been a matter of indifference to them to whom this charge on the land belonged, which they had undertaken to hand on to the owners. Combinations, however, against all payment of tithes were organized throughout the country, and riots and murders were of frequent occurrence. The war against tithes was particularly sanguinary in Ossory, Ferns, Leighlin, Kildare, and Cashel, where the clergy and their families were, during 1830, only saved from starvation by the charity of their friends.

This state of things led to the passing of several Acts of Parliament in reference to tithe composition; until that of 1838 made it a rent-charge payable by the owners of property, and not, as heretofore, by the

occupier. It also allowed the owners one-quarter of the tax for collecting it—a reduction which the clergy willingly accepted, as under that arrangement they were the more likely to be paid their stipends, and, thus freed from the anxiety of collecting them, they could better attend to their spiritual duties.

During the tithe wars a more legitimate subject of agitation also injuriously affected the Church. The cost of the services of the Church, and the maintenance and repair of the fabrics, was provided for by a vestry cess, which was levied on all residing in the parish—Churchmen, Roman Catholics, and Dissenters alike. This grievance was abolished in 1834 by the Church Temporalities Act, and by the appointment of ecclesiastical commissioners to superintend a fund created by taxing all bishops and clergy whose incomes exceeded £300 per annum. This fund was applied to building and repairing churches, to the augmentation of small livings, and other ecclesiastical purposes. From 1854 it also became charged with the allowances to the town clergy, which had been hitherto given from a tax on the clergy holding country benefices. In the same Parliament of 1834, another important Act affecting the Irish Church was also passed in spite of many protests. The episcopate was reduced by one-half its members. The Archbishoprics of Cashel and Tuam and ten bishoprics were suppressed as vacancies occurred, and their incomes were transferred to the fund administered by the recently appointed ecclesiastical commissioners. To this fund were also added the tithes of

about sixty-six sinecure parishes, which were then suspended.

These Acts, though supported by many who desired the downfall of the Church, were not wholly injurious; for the endowments of the suppressed Sees and parishes were not taken away from the Church, but only transferred to other ecclesiastical objects. By the transfer of the tithes as a rent-charge payable by the owners of property, most of whom were members of the Church, even the semblance of a grievance in respect to them was removed from the Roman Catholics and Dissenters. But the enemies of the Church continued to combine against her on other grounds. No re-arrangement of her revenues, or removal of fancied grievances, could satisfy those who sought for her overthrow, which, during the debates on the subject of tithes, had frequently been demanded on the ground that her adherents were but a minority of the Irish people. The agitation against her was renewed in 1867, and within two years she was disestablished and disendowed, although it was declared at the Union that her "continuance and preservation . . . as the United Church of England and Ireland was to be deemed, and taken to be, an essential and fundamental part of the Union."

In spite of the trials through which the Church passed during the period of seventy years which intervened between the Acts of Union and Disestablishment, this period was one of unexampled progress in her history. Many circumstances combined to make

it so, among which may be mentioned the number of judicious appointments to the Episcopal Bench, and the increased earnestness as to religious matters which marked the character of both clergy and laity, as exemplified not only in private life, but also in the formation and development of various societies having for their object the welfare of the people and the advancement of religion.

After the Union there was not the same apparent necessity to secure "English interests" in Ireland; and as only four Irish bishops could sit at the same time in the Imperial House of Lords, their influence was comparatively small. Hence, political motives no longer influenced, to the same extent as formerly, the choice of bishops, who were as a rule appointed because of personal fitness. Amongst the Englishmen who were sent to Ireland were: Mant, Bishop of Down (1823-1848), and Archbishop Whately (1831-1864), to whose piety and learning the Church is still indebted. Nor were the Irishmen who were raised to the Episcopate in their own Church in any way inferior to them in piety or learning; on the contrary, some of them were men of world-wide reputation, whose writings continue to shed lustre on the Irish Church. Within the period now under consideration, at least twelve Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, besides others of high collegiate distinction, were amongst the bishops of the Church. It is only necessary to mention, for example, Elrington, Bishop of Ferns (1822-1835); Magee, Archbishop of Dublin (1822-1831), whose book

on *The Atonement* continued long to be a standard work in connection with the Unitarian controversy ; O'Brien, Bishop of Ossory and Ferns (1842-1875), who wrote the celebrated treatise on *The Nature and Effects of Faith* ; and Fitzgerald, Bishop of Cork (1857-1862), and of Killaloe (1862-1883).

Many of the parochial clergy also were men of high literary attainments. This, indeed, had generally been the case with respect to the rectors of parishes in the gift of the University ; for the College statutes forbade the marriage of the Fellows, hence Fellows desiring to marry were usually appointed to College livings, which, if not accepted by them, were given to some of the other distinguished graduates. It was not till after much agitation that the Government, on the advice of Dr. Dickinson, afterwards Bishop of Meath, repealed the Celibacy Statute in 1840.

The piety and earnestness of the members of the Church, lay and clerical, found expression in many voluntary associations which, as handmaids of the Church, helped much to extend her work and influence during this period. The Incorporated Society (1733) and the Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1792), which have already been mentioned, carried on their useful work. The latter society was incorporated by Act of the Irish Parliament in 1800, and within twenty years, besides establishing day schools and other work, distributed 57,000 Bibles, 164,000 New Testaments, and 96,000 Prayer Books. The Hibernian Bible Society (1806) was also instrumental in circulating many

copies of the Bible and portions of Holy Scripture, at reduced prices, or without cost when necessary. The Sunday School Society (1809) fostered and systematized the work of the Sunday Schools, which was then only in its infancy. The Association known as the Kildare Place Society, from the position of its central institution in Dublin, supplemented by an annual educational grant from the Government, directed the education given in the primary schools throughout the country, which did so much to spread religious education amongst the poorer classes. In the south and west of Ireland there were but eight schools in 1773; in 1816 there were 800; and by 1824 these had increased to 1,122: so that there were few parishes in which there was not a free school for the poor—a boon greatly appreciated by the people. But as the Bible was read in these schools—though without note or comment—the Roman Catholic priesthood forbade the people to send their children to them; and continued the agitation against them, so that many riots occurred, in which Bibles were burned, and other acts of violence perpetrated. In 1831 a system of National Education was introduced for the first time. It was based on the principle of combined secular and separate religious education. Archbishop Whately did much to encourage its acceptance; but it was opposed by many of the clergy and laity of the Church, and also, after a time, by the Roman hierarchy. It continued, however, to make way, and is now generally accepted throughout Ireland.

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On the introduction of the National Board of Education, the annual parliamentary grant to the Kildare Place Society was withdrawn; but the Church Education Society was then formed (1839), and continued to carry on the schools, in which all who attended were required to receive instruction in the Word of God.

A large class of the population, which still continued to speak only the Irish language, received but little benefit from the existing schools; hence the Irish Society was formed in 1818, and by its system of employing teachers, who, without giving up their ordinary occupations, formed classes of adults or others to learn to read the Irish language, through the medium of Scripture portions, did much to spread a knowledge of God's Word amongst those who would otherwise have been shut out from all education. Many who were thus taught became attached members of the Church. Through the efforts of the Irish Society also several churches were built in various Irish-speaking districts.

The Society for Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics was founded in 1849; and, particularly in the west of Ireland, was successful in spreading amongst them a knowledge of the Word of God, and attaching them to the Irish Church as intelligent and well-taught converts. The success of the Mission, notwithstanding persistent opposition from the Roman Church, is also evidenced by the fact that it has been instrumental in promoting the erection—largely through local efforts—of a number of

churches for congregations chiefly composed of those who had formerly been members of the Church of Rome.

Nor amongst the various voluntary agencies within the Church—which are at once evidences of her growth and power, as well as instruments in promoting them—should the Protestant Orphan Societies be unnoticed. The first society was founded in 1818; and within half a century in every county in Ireland, except two, there was one established.

The Church, by the diligence and piety of her bishops and clergy, the spread of education, and the willing co-operation of the laity through the agency of various voluntary associations, was gradually reaching the masses of the people; and this very success constituted one of the strongest objections to her existence, and roused at least one class of her opponents to put forth every effort to accomplish her overthrow and check her progress.

CHAPTER XL.

DISESTABLISHED AND DISENDOWED.

THE Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of Ireland resulted from no fault of her own. In England the people generally had demanded the Reformation. In Ireland the general ignorance of the population was such that there was no desire for reform. At first the people were indifferent. They accepted the change, and attended the reformed services until they were induced by emissaries of the Church of Rome to identify the Reformation with English interests.

The misgovernment of Ireland, and the system of treating the native Irish as enemies, intensified the hatred which the emissaries of Rome and of Spain had succeeded in arousing against both the Church and State. The mistake of not at first instructing the people through the medium of their own tongue, and of not giving them the Bible and Prayer Book in their own language, proved one of the greatest hindrances to the Reformation in Ireland. Another hindrance—and one certainly beyond the control of the Church—arose from external causes by which she was herself well-nigh destroyed. Four times, within a period of 150 years, her very existence was in danger. Edward VI was succeeded

by Mary, whose reign of five years proved disastrous to the Church. In the Rebellion of 1641 she suffered severely. For eighteen years, during the usurpation of the Commonwealth, the Puritans and Independents forbade all exercise of her rites, and almost destroyed her organization. Scarcely had she recovered her position, when the systematic persecution under James II and the restoration of Romanism interrupted her work.

For a time, too, the patronage of her friends proved scarcely less harmful than the opposition of her enemies. Under Anne and the Georges her bishops were appointed more from political motives than with a view to advance her spiritual interests. The chief Sees were filled with Englishmen, who had but little sympathy with Irish interests. The penal laws imposed by the Government, with which the Church was rather unfairly identified, raised a barrier between her and the Irish Roman Catholics, which retarded her work amongst them.

After the Union, however, when political motives no longer influenced episcopal appointments in the same degree as formerly, and Irishmen of learning and piety were more frequently chosen as bishops in their own Church, the success of her work was very apparent, as we have seen in the previous chapter. In proof of her success, and of the progress made during this period, may be noticed the marked increase in the number of the clergy and the churches. In 1806 the clergy only numbered 1,253, and the churches 1,029; these had increased in 1864—that

is, within a period of less than sixty years—to 2,172 clergy and 1,579 churches. Within the same period also, though Church property had diminished in value by more than one-fourth, many parochial unions were dissolved, and the number of benefices had increased from 1,181 to 1,510, while the number of glebe houses had more than quadrupled—there being only 295 in all Ireland in 1806, while in 1864 the number was 978. Such an increase of clergy and churches and benefices shows an activity and earnestness and growth on the part of the Church during the first half of the nineteenth century, that at least her enemies appreciated.

It was, therefore, from no neglect of duty that the Church of Ireland was despoiled. "If we are to fall," said Primate Beresford in a Charge delivered in 1868, "it is for no default of duty, no reasonable objection to our ecclesiastical system, nor to the constitution or condition of our Church; it is solely for external causes and reasons. Of this consolation we can never be deprived." The author of the Bill for disestablishing and disendowing the Church said, "We must all accord to that Church the praise, that her clergy are a body of zealous and devoted ministers, who give themselves to their sacerdotal functions in a degree not inferior to any other Christian Church." The Irish Church was avowedly sacrificed from motives of political expediency. The Act by which she was disestablished and disendowed received the royal assent on 26th July, 1869, and took effect on 1st January, 1871.

To explain what Disestablishment and Disendowment involved, it may be well to state some of the provisions of the Act. The union between the Church of England and of Ireland was dissolved. The Church of Ireland ceased to be established by law, and had no further connection with the State; her bishops were no longer to have seats in the House of Lords; she was henceforth to be a purely voluntary religious body. All ecclesiastical corporations were also dissolved, though the existing ecclesiastical law and ordinances were expressly continued as binding until modified by the constitutional authority of the Church herself. The whole of the property of the Church of Ireland, including glebe houses and lands, tithe-rent charges, and the funds in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and other ecclesiastical corporations—in fact, everything belonging to the Church—was taken from her, and became vested in “The Commissioners of Church Temporalities”—a body of three commissioners appointed under the Act to realize and disburse the funds of which the Church had been deprived. The Act directed that the life interests of the clergy should be respected, and that their incomes should be continued as long as they discharged their parochial duties, or were incapacitated from doing so by age or infirmity; and it also directed that a capital sum should be paid to the College of Maynooth and to the Presbyterian body out of the Church funds, equal to the life interest of those who were then benefiting by the annual grants to these bodies. Under this provision Maynooth

received £372,331, and the Presbyterians £764,688, which included £39,775 in lieu of grants to the General Assembly's College at Belfast.

With the exception of these grants, made in lieu of life interests, no portion of the Church property was applied to religious purposes ; the rest was secularized,¹ and directed to be given to the relief of "unavoidable calamity and suffering," as Parliament should afterwards determine. The Church Act authorized the creation of a new corporation, to be called "The Church Representative Body," which should receive and manage any property that might be entrusted to it on behalf of the Church. In this body were vested all the churches then in use, and the burial grounds adjacent to them; and the glebe houses and a portion of the land connected with them, not, as a rule, exceeding ten acres and the curtilage, might be *purchased* back for the benefit of the parishes. There were many private endowments given by individuals for specific purposes, some of them of comparatively recent date. In lieu of these private gifts—which could not have been confiscated without a distinct violation of the law respecting all testamentary trusts—a sum of £500,000 was paid to the Representative Church Body, in order that the original trusts might be carried out.

¹ Amongst the objects to which the funds which belonged to the Irish Church have been applied may be mentioned, for example, Intermediate Education, the Royal University, the Maintenance of National Monuments, the National School Teachers' Pension Fund, Relief of Distress, Supply of Seed Potatoes, Promotion of Sea Fisheries, &c.

Thus was the Church completely disestablished and disendowed, and her property taken from her, save only that which satisfied the life interests of the clergy and other ecclesiastical persons,¹ and that which was considered sufficient to enable certain trusts to be carried out in accordance with the wills of those who, in comparatively recent times, had bequeathed their property to the Church for specific purposes.

The churches in use, and the adjacent graveyards and parochial schoolhouses, were the only parts of her property which were restored to the Church without purchase. With these exceptions, the property which many generations of godly men and women had dedicated to the worship of God, was wholly secularized, though none of it—as in the case of the dissolution of the monasteries—went to enrich private individuals.

Disestablished and disendowed, the Church of Ireland was indeed cast down, but not destroyed ; for, after an experience of now over a quarter of a century, thanks to the loyalty of her sons, and the good hand of our God upon her, she can say of those who compassed her downfall : “Ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good.”

¹ The term “ecclesiastical persons” included not only the clergy, but all who were employed in recognised positions in connection with the Church, and were paid from her funds—such as parish clerks, sextons, diocesan schoolmasters, and registrars. The number of such lay annuitants was 3,245. Compensation to the amount of £778,887 was also given to 301 lay patrons—owners of advowsons and of the right of presentation.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

AT no period in the history of the Church of Ireland was she more eminent for her devotion to her sacred mission, or stronger in the affections of her people, than at the period when the trial of Disestablishment and Disendowment came upon her. A generation had grown up who, in her Sunday and daily schools, had been carefully trained in the knowledge of God's Word and the doctrines of the Church, and were intelligently attached to her principles.

A period of but one year and five months was all that intervened between the passing of the Act and its coming into operation. But the Church was ready to meet this crisis in her history. Full of life and vigour, she rose at once to the necessities of her new position. There was no undue excitement ; but, with a calm dignity which astonished those who had expected her destruction, she proceeded, conscious of her strength, of the purity of her faith, and the attachment of her members, to take the necessary steps, under legitimate authority, to continue her work and fulfil her mission as a national Church.

The Act which disestablished her gave her back her ancient freedom, and enabled her at will to consult her Synods and Convocations, which during her

connection with the State could only be called together by permission of the Crown. Within a few weeks, the two Archbishops summoned the Synods of their respective provinces in the usual manner; and the first resolution of Convocation, thus legally formed, asserted, that they had met "not to originate a Constitution for a new Communion, but to repair a sudden breach in one of the most ancient Churches in Christendom." Convocation further decided that as "the co-operation of the faithful laity had become more than ever desirable," a convention should be held at which both laity and clergy should be represented.

The laity, too, were ready to take their part; and, at their request, the Archbishops directed that laymen should be chosen in every parish, who should meet in their diocesan synods and elect delegates from amongst themselves to a lay conference, which had been duly summoned to meet in Dublin. Convocation had decided that the clerical representatives at the General Convention should be elected by the clergy on the basis of one clergyman to every ten who were beneficed and licensed in a diocese. The lay conference suggested that the number of the representatives to be chosen by the laity should be double that of the clergy.

Such was the character and composition of the General Convention, which met for the first time in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin [FIG. 32], on 15th February, 1870. The lay and clerical delegates were chosen in the various diocesan synods; and thus the

whole Church had a direct voice in drawing up a Constitution, and enacting a code of laws suitable to the altered conditions under which she was to carry on her work. The Constitution drawn up by the General Convention had reference only to such matters of organization as were rendered absolutely necessary by the operation of the Irish Church Act, which in no way interfered with the doctrine and discipline of the Church. It treated of the manner



FIG. 32.—THE NATIONAL CATHEDRAL AND COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. PATRICK, DUBLIN.

Restored, in 1862, by the late Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, Bart.

(From *The Irish Churchman's Almanack*, A.P.C.K.)

in which the Church Representative Body should be formed ; the mode of appointing bishops to Sees, and clergy to cures ; the creation of an ultimate source of legislative authority in the Church ; the character and functions of the synods ; and other matters of organization.

Before entering on its special work, the General Convention passed a solemn resolution, which by way of "Preamble and Declaration" it prefixed to its Acts, asserting :

- (a) That the Church of Ireland unfeignedly believes all the Canonical Scriptures as given by the inspiration of God, and containing all things necessary to salvation ; and that it continues to profess the faith of Christ, as professed by the primitive Church ;
- (b) That she will continue to minister the doctrines and sacraments and discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and will maintain inviolate the three Orders of the sacred ministry ;
- (c) That as a Reformed and Protestant Church she re-affirms her witness against the innovations in doctrine and worship which were rejected and disowned at the Reformation ;
- (d) That she accepts and approves of the Thirty-nine Articles and Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordinal as adopted in the Synod of Dublin, 1662, until

changed by lawful authority, and will maintain communion with the Church of England and other Christian Churches agreeing in the principles of this declaration ; and

- (e) That the chief legislative power in the Church shall rest in the General Synod of the Church, composed of archbishops, bishops, and the representatives of the clergy and laity.

A brief *résumé* of the principal provisions of the Constitution of the Church, as drawn up in the General Convention of 1870, and since amended, may prove useful :—

1. The General Synod, in which rests the supreme legislative authority of the Church of Ireland, consists of three distinct orders—viz., bishops, clergy, and laity, who sitting together form two distinct Houses, viz., the House of Bishops and the House of Representatives, consisting of 208 clergy in priests' orders, and 416 lay communicants of the Church, chosen by the various diocesan synods, in which the laymen elect the lay representatives, and the clergy the clerical representatives. A new synod is elected every third year. In order that a bill should pass, it is necessary to obtain a majority of those present and voting conjointly ; but if the voting be taken by orders, then a majority of each order becomes necessary before a bill can pass. Should the majority of the bishops, however, object to a bill, it must be re-affirmed at the next ordinary

session by a majority of not less than two-thirds of each order ; it then becomes law unless rejected by two-thirds of the bishops present and voting.

2. Diocesan synods, established for each diocese or united diocese, are composed of the bishop, the beneficed and licensed clergymen of the diocese, and lay synodsmen, who must be communicants of the Church, and elected by the several parochial vestries in a proportion not exceeding two for each clergyman. A new synod is elected every third year. The authority of the diocesan synods extends only to the temporalities of the Church within the diocese in all matters not inconsistent with the regulations of the General Synod.

As in the General Synod, a motion to pass requires a majority only, if the orders vote conjointly ; but a majority of each order is necessary when the orders vote separately. Should the bishop dissent, the motion becomes suspended till the next annual meeting of the Synod. If it is then re-affirmed by two-thirds of each order, and the bishop still dissents, the question is to be submitted to the General Synod, whose decision shall be final. A diocesan council is appointed annually by the synod from among its members, to discharge various duties relating to finance and other matters intrusted to it.

3. Parochial vestries in each parish consist of the male members of the Church, of the age of twenty-one years, who reside within the parish, or are owners of property in it, or are accustomed members of the congregation. To the Select Vestry, consisting of

the incumbent, and curate (if any), the churchwardens, and not more than twelve other persons elected by the members of the vestry out of their own number, is intrusted the control of all parochial charities and Church funds, not given for special objects. It is also the duty of the Select Vestry to provide requisites for Divine Service, to keep the Church and parish buildings in repair, and to appoint and pay the parish officers and servants.

4. The appointment of clergymen to cures is intrusted to a committee of patronage, consisting of seven persons—viz., the bishop of the diocese, one lay and two clerical diocesan nominators elected by the synod from its members every third year, and three lay parochial nominators, who must be communicants, and are elected by the General Vestry every third year.

5. The election of an archbishop or bishop rests with the synod of the diocese, except in the case of the Lord Primate, who is chosen by the Bench of Bishops from their own number; and special rules are laid down to supply the vacancy thus created in a bishopric. No bishop can be elected by a synod unless he obtains the votes of two-thirds of each order; failing this, the names of not more than three clergymen shall be returned to the Bench of Bishops, who by a majority of votes shall select one of them as bishop.

6. The Representative Church Body, as a corporation to hold property in trust for the Church, and disburse it under the direction of the General Synod,

is composed of (*a*) the Archbishops and Bishops for the time being as *ex-officio* members ; (*b*) one clerical and two lay representatives for each diocese ; and (*c*) a number of co-opted members equal to the number of the dioceses.

Such, in general outline, is the Constitution of the Church of Ireland, framed by her faithful clergy and laity as most suited to the requirements of the Church when she regained her freedom ; and the wisdom and foresight with which it has been framed have been fully attested by the successful experience of nearly thirty years.

CHAPTER XLII.

FINANCE—COMMUTATION AND COMPOSITION.

THE Irish Church Act, as we have seen, respected the life interests of the existing clergy. That portion of their incomes which was derived from tithe-rent charges was converted into annuities, which they were to receive, as well as continue in occupation of their houses and lands, so long as they discharged their parochial duties, or were disabled from so doing through age or infirmity, or any cause other than their own wilful default. As these annuitant clergymen died or became disabled from discharging their parochial duties, their successors would have no income save that which could be raised by voluntary subscriptions. They would have neither glebe houses nor lands, unless these had been previously purchased back for the Church from the Commissioners of Church Temporalities, in whom they had become vested on the passing of the Church Act. Besides the life interests of the clergy and the sum granted in lieu of "Private Endowments," there was absolutely nothing left to the Church: all her property was taken from her, except the church fabrics, parochial schoolhouses, and the burial grounds attached to the churches.

In order to bring the duties of the Church Tem-

poralities Commission to a termination as soon as possible, the Church Act permitted each ecclesiastical annuity to be capitalized according to the ordinary actuarial life tables, and such capital sum to be paid to the Representative Church Body, with its consent and that of the clergyman whose annuity was charged upon it. The value of the annuities thus calculated by the life tables represented only such a sum as would just be exhausted on the death of the annuitant. In order, therefore, to leave a margin for expenses of administration, and as an inducement to the Representative Body to undertake the risk, the Act offered a bonus of twelve per cent. on the commutation value, provided that within a certain time at least three-fourths of the clergy consented to commute—that is, consented to accept the security of the Representative Body for their annuities in lieu of that of the Government. It was considered by the able financiers on the Representative Body that commutation might possibly prove advantageous to the Church, though the risk involved in the investment of so large a sum as would be produced by composition was fully recognised. To the honour of the clergy of the Church of Ireland, more than the required three-fourths commuted within the specified time, in order, if possible, to secure some benefit to the Church. Out of a total of 2,380 annuitants, including bishops, incumbents, and curates, those who refused to commute numbered only seventy-seven. The noble disinterestedness of the vast majority of the clergy of the Church in the hour of her need has perhaps not

been as fully appreciated as it ought to be. For the Church's sake they voluntarily gave up the absolute security of the Government for their annuities ; and accepted the doubtful security of a new and inexperienced body. Failure or imprudent investments meant the partial or utter ruin of the clergy, whose whole ecclesiastical income was imperilled.

As a result of commutation, the Commissioners of Church Temporalities paid to the Representative Church Body, up to the 31st December, 1897, the sum of £7,581,075 8s. 9d., charged with £596,843 1s. 5d. payable to 2,043 annuitants. The average number of years' purchase for the annuity of incumbents amounted only to 10½, and for curates to 16.

Though the Church determined, as before, to occupy the whole land, yet it was felt that for many parishes, where the number of Church members was few, amalgamation with adjacent parishes would, for a time at least, be a necessity, and that the work of the Church in the future must be carried on by a diminished number of clergy. In order, therefore, to reduce the number of annuitants, and to enable a re-organization of parishes in various districts to be made, permission, under certain conditions, was given to any of the clergy who desired it to compound their annuities for a fixed proportion of their then composition value, the remaining portion being retained in the hands of the Representative Body in lieu of the loss of their services. Many took advantage of this, and, on the whole, their composition proved a benefit to the Church, for it not only ex-

tinguished their annuities, but the interest on their composition balances in the hands of the Representative Body became available for the general purposes of the Church.

As a further provision for the future, the parishes were urged, without waiting for a vacancy in the incumbency, to begin at once to pay into a sustentation fund such an assessment as they considered they could continue annually to make up. The interest on this fund, which would continue to accumulate until vacancies occurred, would thus be available to supplement the annual assessment, and so secure for the future clergy a greater income than could otherwise be given, if nothing were done until the new appointments were made. The plan was willingly adopted throughout the whole Church. Each diocese or united diocese formulated a financial scheme, by which it was hoped to secure for the future benefit of the Church in the diocese as much as possible of its proportion of the commutation capital, while offering to the several parishes as good terms as were consistent with the safety of the scheme.

The principles and details of the several diocesan financial schemes were left to the judgment of the diocesan synods, though they required the ultimate sanction of the Representative Church Body. There is, therefore, considerable difference to be found in the twenty-one schemes which were then drawn up. That of Cashel and Emly asks only 50 per cent. of the clergyman's income to be paid by the parish ;

while those of Ferns and Meath require 64 per cent. of the stipend to be raised by parochial assessment. Most of the financial schemes have proved satisfactory, some of them, indeed, so successful, that, after an experience of nearly thirty years, they are able to give better terms to the clergy than was originally contemplated. The laity of the Church have, by their continued contributions towards her maintenance, shown their appreciation of her services, and their attachment to her doctrine and form of worship. They have generously seconded the disinterested devotion of the clergy by whose commutation and self-denial in days gone by the present position of the Church, with her moderate endowments for the future, was rendered possible.

To the skill and attention of the members of the Representative Body, ungrudgingly given and often imperfectly appreciated, is due the measure of success which has attended the effort to create an endowment from which to increase the incomes of the clergy, and supplement the parochial assessments, on which must always chiefly depend the financial prosperity of the Church.

CHAPTER XLIII.

REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

THE General Convention which met in 1870 declared on behalf of the Church of Ireland, which it fully represented, that it received and approved the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and the Book of Common Prayer. Some verbal changes, however, were rendered necessary in the latter on account of the altered position of the Church towards the State. When these were being made by the General Synod, others were also introduced, but only of such a character as tended to make more definite certain expressions which some appeared to have misunderstood, and to enrich the Prayer Book with new services and additional prayers and thanksgivings. Some, indeed, demanded a larger measure of revision; but no change affecting doctrine was permitted, nor did the alterations then made imply any censure on the former book, for which "all men, on all sides, professed their love and reverence." The revised Prayer Book was published in 1878; and in the Preface which was prefixed to it, the principles which guided the revision, and the nature of the changes which were then made, were clearly stated.

Every alteration proposed or carried out was the subject of long and serious consideration, and often

of earnest debate, in which many lay members of the Synod took an intelligent and scholarly part. These debates on revision did much to arouse a general interest in the history of the Prayer Book, and to promote a truer appreciation of a liturgical service which in its chief features has descended from the remote past, and embodies in its structure forms of worship used in apostolic times.

It may be well to give a detailed and systematic account of the various alterations which were made in the Prayer Book at the revision completed in 1878. [No change whatever was made in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.]

The Prefaces.—A new preface was added explanatory of the changes then made, and of the reasons why certain things were altered and others retained. The words "Prefixed at the Revision of 1662" were added to the title of the former preface ; and that "concerning the service of the Church" was further described as "the original preface (1549), altered in 1552 and 1662." The injunction to priests and deacons to say daily the morning and evening prayer privately or openly which followed this preface, and that which directed the curate to say the same in the parish church or chapel, were omitted. The paragraph in reference to the use of morning and evening prayer in a language other than English, was with some changes transferred to a position immediately preceding the order for morning prayer. The title "concerning ceremonies (1549)" was substituted for the former one: "Of

ceremonies ; why some be abolished and some retained." "The Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read" was, with some slight verbal alterations, placed as a rubric before the Psalter.

The Lectionary.—The English Lectionary of 1871 was adopted by the Irish Church in 1873, with only a few changes, which were rendered necessary by the exclusion of the Apocrypha and the inclusion of the whole of the Revelation of St. John, instead of a few selected chapters, as in the English Prayer Book. The note directing the Collects, Epistle, and Gospel appointed for Sundays to be used during the following week, was removed and placed as a rubric before the "Collects, Epistles, and Gospels."

The Calendar.—In 1549 all names of saints, save those mentioned in the New Testament, were removed from the calendar, and for these special services were appointed. From a desire to perpetuate the memory of some English and other Christians, and also for the convenience of the people, whose festivities, dates of hiring, as well as the sittings of law courts, &c., had so long been connected with saints' days in the old calendars, many names were restored in 1561, but without any other special commemoration. These were all removed from the Irish Prayer Book at the revision of 1878, and only those retained for whom, as in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, special services had been appointed.

A note on the Dominical or Sunday Letter was prefixed to the calendar.

A table of the vigils, fasts, and days of abstinence has a note appended to it, authorizing the archbishops and bishops to appoint days of humiliation and days of thanksgiving, and to prescribe special services for the same.

A table to find Easter Day has prefixed to it an historical "Note on the Golden Numbers."

The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer daily throughout the year.—From this title in the preface the words "to be said and used" after "daily" have been omitted. New rubrics were added, giving liberty, with the approval of the Ordinary, to use only selections from the services on special occasions. The "ornaments rubric" was omitted, the subject having been more definitely treated in the canons passed in 1871. A rubric was added giving permission to read or sing the liturgy in "the Irish or any other language that is better understood by the people."

The Order for Morning Prayer.—Psalm cxlviii was inserted as an alternative canticle after the first lesson. A rubric was added sanctioning the omission of the Lord's Prayer and the three versicles preceding it, when the Litany is said. The rubric after the third collect, "Here followeth the anthem," was changed into "Here may follow an anthem or hymn." Instead of the two alternative prayers for the Lord Lieutenant, only one, which was formed from them, was inserted.

The Order for Evening Prayer.—The only change made in this service was the insertion, as an alternative for the third collect, of the collect for grace

and protection, which was taken from the additional collects after the Communion Office, where it is also retained.

The Creed (commonly called) of St. Athanasius.—This Creed was retained in the Prayer Book, but the rubric which directed its use on certain days was omitted.

The Litany.—There was no change made in the Litany, but a rubric was prefixed in reference to its use as a separate service, or in conjunction with other services. A further rubric permits the insertion of the words “especially him (*or her or them*) for whom our prayers are desired,” when any desire the prayers of the congregation.

Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions.—To these seven additional prayers were added, viz., for Unity, which was taken from the service for 20th June, the day of the Queen’s accession ; for a Sick Person, formed from one in the Sarum Manual, and the second collect in the service for the Visitation of the Sick ; for use on Rogation Days ; for use on New Year’s Day ; for Christian Missions, slightly modified from one composed in 1854 for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ; for the General Synod, adapted from one formerly used for the Irish Convocation ; for Colleges and Schools, slightly modified from a prayer used in Trinity College Chapel, Dublin. Besides these seven, the prayer for use in time of any common plague or sickness was modified by incorporating into it some petitions from the commendatory prayer in the Order for the

Visitation of the Sick ; and in the prayer for the High Court of Parliament, the words "our most religious and gracious Queen" were changed into "our Sovereign Lady the Queen."

Thanksgivings.—The words "which may be said of the whole congregation after the minister," were placed as a rubric before the general thanksgiving, and a new form was added for recovery from sickness, in which the congregation join with one or more of its members who in their presence desire to thank God for restoration to health.

The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.—Three rubrics, two of them somewhat modified, were taken from their former positions in portions of the prefaces, and placed before the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, to guide their use on occasions when a holyday falls on a Sunday, and to fix the practice in reference to the vigils of holydays falling on a Monday. Two new collects, with appropriate Epistles and Gospels, were added : one, for an early Celebration on Christmas morning, was restored from the first Prayer Book of Edward VI [Titus ii. 11, and St. Matt. i. 18, were appointed as the Epistle and Gospel] ; the other, for an early Celebration on Easter Day, was taken from the same book, where it stood after the anthem, the Epistle and Gospel being Heb. xiii. 20, and St. Mark xvi. 1. The only other change was the substitution of 1 Cor. v. 6, as the Epistle for the first Sunday after Easter, for 1 St. John v. 4.

The Office for Holy Communion.—The second rubric before the office, in reference to a person living in

notorious sin and intending to come to the Holy Communion, was somewhat modified, and the attention of the minister drawn to the canons relating thereto, which are the additional canons passed in 1877.

The third rubric, in reference to those betwixt whom there is malice and hatred, was omitted, as were also the words "where morning and evening prayer are appointed to be said," from the fourth rubric. A new rubric was added, directing the service to be said "in a distinct and audible voice." In the rubric before the Nicene Creed the practice was legalized, as in the Prayer Book of 1549, of saying or singing "Glory be to Thee, O Lord," when the Gospel was announced, and "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord," or "Hallelujah," after it was read. In the Nicene Creed a comma was placed after "Lord" in the words "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of life," in accordance with the original. The portion of the second rubric before the offertory which refers to the homilies, was omitted, as were also the two offertory sentences taken from the Apocrypha. The two rubrics before the Prayer for the Church Militant have been modified—the first, by the omission of the words which directed the alms to be received "in a decent bason," and the insertion of a clause permitting the alms to be collected at other times during Divine Service. To the second rubric, which directed the bread and wine to be placed upon the Holy Table after the offertory, the words "if this have not been already done" were added. The portion of the rubric before the first exhortation,

which directed that it should be read "upon the Sunday, or some holyday immediately preceding," was omitted, and words added which permitted a part of it to be read. Before the third exhortation the words, "those who do not intend to communicate having had opportunity to withdraw," were inserted in the rubric, and a note added permitting the exhortation to be omitted, provided it "be read once in the month at least, and on all great Festivals." In the exhortation itself, "we eat and drink judgment to ourselves," is, as in the Revised Version, substituted for "we eat and drink our own damnation," and the words, "we kindle God's wrath against us, we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases and sundry kinds of death," were omitted. In the rubric before the Prayer of Consecration the words "he shall say the prayer" were changed into "he shall, standing at the north side of the Table, say the prayer."

The words "all standing up" were added to the rubric which directed the *Gloria in Excelsis* to be said or sung. Three additional collects were placed at the end of the office, viz., a commemoration of the faithful departed, taken from a Prayer in the Burial Service; a prayer for the ministers of God's Word and Sacraments; and a prayer to be used after the offertory when that for the Church Militant is not read. In the first rubrics some changes have been made: the least number of communicants at a Celebration of the Holy Communion was reduced from four (or three at the least) to three (or two at the least); and, on occasions sanctioned by the Ordinary, leave was given

to begin the office with the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel. The former rubric directed that "it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten;" this has been changed to "the Bread shall be such as is usual to be eaten." Instead of the rubric directing every parishioner to communicate at least three times in the year, of which Easter should be one, and that he should pay the ecclesiastical duties accustomedly due, a rubric was added directing the minister to exhort the people to communicate frequently, and to contribute regularly to the maintenance of the worship of God according as God shall prosper him. Permission was given, with the consent of the Ordinary, to repeat the words of Administration once to as many as shall together kneel for receiving the Communion at the Holy Table, when by reason of numbers it would be inconvenient to address each separately, provided they be said separately to any communicant so desiring it.

The Public Baptism of Infants.—An additional rubric was inserted permitting parents to be sponsors for their own children, as did the English Convocation in 1864. Liberty was also given to accept even one sponsor when more cannot be found. In the first exhortation, instead of the words "our Saviour Christ saith none can enter into the Kingdom of God except he be regenerate and born anew of Water and of the Holy Ghost," the actual words of Christ are used, and the sentence stands thus:—"Our Saviour Christ saith, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God, and also saith, Except a man be born

of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God."

The two rubrics as to the mode of administering the rite of baptism have been combined into one directing that the child shall be dipped in the water, if the priest is certified that the child may well endure it; otherwise it will suffice to pour water upon it. The XXXth Canon of the English Church in reference to the use of the cross in baptism, which was only referred to in the former book in a rubric at the end of the service, has now been printed there in full.

Private Baptism of Children.—The rubric directed the curate to admonish people not to delay the Baptism of their children "longer than the first or second Sunday after their birth, . . . unless upon great and reasonable cause, to be approved of by the curate." This was altered to "the third or fourth Sunday," and the words "to be approved of by the curate" were omitted. In the former Prayer Book the Lord's Prayer was placed after the exhortation on the Gospel in the office for the reception of the child privately baptized, and the address to the sponsors in reference to Confirmation by the bishop was omitted. This omission was rectified at the revision in 1878, and the Lord's Prayer placed in the same position as in the Office for Public Baptism.

A rubric was added in reference to procedure when a child already baptized happened to be brought to the church to be received at the same time with a child that is to be baptized.

Baptism of such as are of Riper Years.—In the opening address Christ's actual words have been inserted, as in that for the Public Baptism of Infants. Two new rubrics were added, one directing the use of the hypothetical form in cases where there is uncertainty as to whether Baptism had been rightly administered before, the other permitting the private baptism of adults "upon great and urgent cause." The rubric which declared it expedient that the newly baptized "should be confirmed by the bishop so soon after his Baptism as conveniently may be, that so he may be admitted to the Holy Communion," now reads, "should be confirmed by the bishop, and receive the Holy Communion, so soon after his Baptism as conveniently may be."

The Catechism.—A new question and answer were added, teaching that the Body and Blood of Christ are taken and received in the Lord's Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, and that the mean whereby they are taken and received is faith. The rubric requiring that everyone should have a godfather and godmother as a witness of their confirmation has been omitted, and that in reference to curates catechising on Sundays was modified.

The Order of Confirmation.—Two new rubrics have been added, one permitting "some other collect out of this book" at the bishop's discretion to be used instead of the final prayer, and one stating that "the bishop may address the candidates during the service at his discretion," thus legalizing a practice long in use. The final rubric only states that every person

ought to be confirmed before partaking of the Lord's Supper, instead of the former one, which directed that "none should be admitted to the Holy Communion until he was confirmed or desirous to be confirmed." A new question has been added suitable for those who come to be confirmed having been baptized in riper years.

The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony.—The first rubric has been somewhat modified. It now permits the publication of banns to take place either after the Nicene Creed, or immediately after the Second Lesson. It also recognises the Bishop's licence as a dispensation to omit the publication of banns. In the exhortation some words have been omitted, and the prayer beginning, "O merciful Lord," has been slightly altered. In the address to all that are married, the chapters and verses are given for the texts quoted. A new Collect was added, and also 2 Cor. xiii. 14, as a benediction.

The Visitation of the Sick.—A rubric was added leaving the use of this office to the discretion of the minister, except when the sick person desires it. The absolution in the Office for Holy Communion was substituted for the less ancient form of absolution which had hitherto been used for the sick, and the rubric preceding it was somewhat changed. An alternative Collect to that beginning, "O most merciful God," was inserted, as was also a prayer for a sick person when his sickness has been mercifully assuaged, which was taken from the office in the American Prayer Book.

The Communion of the Sick.—In this office permission was given to use the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the day, instead of those provided in the office itself, and also, in the case of extreme weakness, to shorten the service.

The Order for the Burial of the Dead.—A rubric was inserted permitting a portion of this office to be used for infants dying unbaptized, and for others who, though unbaptized, "had been at the time of their death prepared for and desirous of Baptism." 1 Thess. iv. 13, was added as an alternative Lesson. In the prayer at the grave, beginning "Almighty God, with whom do live," the words, "we bless Thy Holy Name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear," were substituted for, "we give Thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased Thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world."

The Churching of Women.—The Aaronic blessing, Num. vi. 24-26, was added to this office as a benediction.

A Commination.—The wish formerly expressed for the restoration of Church discipline was omitted, and some verbal changes made, as "repentance" used for "penance." The chapter and verses from which the texts quoted in the address are taken have been noted in the margin.

Four new *Occasional Services* were also added, viz. :—

1. For the first Sunday on which a Minister officiates in the Church of a Cure to which he has been instituted.

2. A Form of Thanksgiving for the Blessings of Harvest.

3. The Form for the Consecration of a Church.

4. The Form for the Consecration of a Churchyard or other Burial Ground.

Save a few other verbal alterations, such in detail were the several changes made in the Prayer Book at its revision by the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, completed in 1878.

A copy of the Prayer Book, thus revised, certified as correct, and sealed with the Seal of the General Synod, furnishes the legal Standard of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of Ireland. No change can be made in it except by a Statute of the General Synod. Of such sealed books there are five copies: one deposited with the Representative Church Body, one with the Secretaries of the General Synod, and the others in the libraries of Armagh, Trinity College, and Archbishop Marsh.

CHAPTER XLIV.

SINCE DISESTABLISHMENT.

AT no time in her previous history was the Church in a better position to meet such serious difficulties as those with which she had to contend, when, by the Act of Disestablishment and Disendowment, she was cast off by the State and despoiled of her property.

For more than a generation her clergy had been more highly educated and better trained for their sacred calling than those of any former age. Until the very close of the eighteenth century, candidates for Holy Orders received no special training in the University of Dublin, and they were frequently ordained without possessing a degree. The religious training of the undergraduates generally was entrusted to the Catechist ; and all the resident graduates were required to attend the lectures of the Regius Professor of Divinity or those of Archbishop King's Lecturer : but there was no special course of study for those who intended to enter the ministry of the Church. In 1790, at a meeting of the Irish bishops, it was determined to ordain no candidate in future who had not a B.A. degree and a certificate of having attended lectures in divinity for one year. The bishops at the same time sent to the Board of

Trinity College a list of books in which they had decided to examine all candidates prior to their ordination. This action tended greatly to raise the educational status of the clergy. The subjects of the lectures had special reference to the evidences of natural and revealed religion, and to the Socinian controversy, then very prevalent in Ireland, and which resulted in the disruption of the Presbyterian body, many of whom adopted the heresy, and founded a number of Unitarian congregations, some of which still exist. But in those days of unbelief the Church of Ireland found able champions for the truth amongst her own clergy. Magee's *Sermons on The Atonement*, published in 1801, showed how untenable are the objections of the Deist to the doctrine of a propitiatory sacrifice.

It was not, however, till 1833 that the Divinity School of Trinity College was arranged on its present basis, and the course extended to two years. Presided over by men like O'Brien, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, it became a power for good which was felt throughout the whole Church; for the higher culture of the clergy and their special theological training gradually influenced their congregations, and strengthened them in their attachment to the Church.

The worldliness and formality, too, which had marked the character of many of the clergy during the greater part of the eighteenth century, had long given place to a higher appreciation of Divine truth and a more earnest discharge of spiritual duties. Nor must it be overlooked that the exemplary lives

of the parochial clergy had won the admiration of even those most opposed to the Church, and were exercising an influence for good far beyond the limits of their own flocks. Under such clergy the laity had been carefully taught the truths of God's Word, and had learned to value the doctrine and discipline of the Church. Thus, when the time of trial came, it found the Church full of vitality, strong in the affections of her members, and ready to meet whatever difficulties she might be called on to encounter.

The difficulty of maintaining a clergyman in some of the poorer parishes rendered a union¹ of parishes under one clergyman necessary in several districts. But no churches were closed in consequence of such unions, except where a single church was found to meet the wants of the people, and was not situated at too great a distance from any of the parishioners. About 300 parishes were thus amalgamated with others, and 70 churches closed, some of which, however, were rebuilt in more central positions. Not less than 50 new churches have been built since 1871, amongst which may be mentioned the Cathedrals of

¹ There were 1,518 ecclesiastical parishes in Ireland at the time of disestablishment. These were served by 1,447 incumbents and 1,020 curates, of whom 99 were not entitled to annuities. The number of churches vested in the Representative Church Body up to 1882 was 1,628, besides some others which were vested in trustees. The number of ecclesiastical parishes at present is 1,218, and there are 1,580 clergy. There were 67 churches closed up to 1882, and 44 new ones built, some of which were to supply the places of those closed, and others for the requirements of new districts where the Church population had increased. A few churches have since been closed, and also some new ones built.

St. Fin Barre, Cork [FIG. 33], and St. Brigid,¹ Kildare. Besides building new churches, many have been



FIG. 33.—ST. FIN BARRE'S CATHEDRAL, CORK.

From a block, by permission of the Dean of Cork.

restored; indeed, there are but few parishes in Ireland in which the churches have not been improved and beautified since disestablishment, and thus rendered

¹ The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson), the Lord Primate (Dr. Alexander), and Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, took part in the opening Service of Dedication of Kildare Cathedral, 22nd September, 1896.

more meet for the Master's use. The work of church-building and restoration has been generally carried out by the united contributions of the people, though in some instances it has been undertaken by individual members. Thus, for example, to the liberality of the late Mr. Henry Roe is due, not only the restoration of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin [FIG. 34], but also the erection of the splendid Synod Hall



FIG. 34.—CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

From *The Irish Churchman's Almanack*, A. P. C. K.

which he built on the site of the old Church of St. Michael, and presented to the General Synod in 1875.

For the building and purchase of glebe houses¹ more than £300,000 has been raised since disestablishment, in addition to the annual contributions to the Church Sustentation Fund, which for the past twenty-eight years have averaged £179,344 a year, and amount in the aggregate to £5,021,632. Funds were also raised to enable the diocese of Clogher to become a separate bishopric in 1886.

But the evidences of progress and successful efforts on the part of the Church since 1871 are not wholly based on the generous contributions from her 600,000 members, though, no doubt, they are in a measure the results of her faithfulness in discharging her spiritual duties. The care with which the Church watches over the religious instruction of the young is at once an evidence and a cause of success.

¹ There were at disestablishment 935 glebes. Of these the Representative Body purchased back from the Irish Church Temporalities Commissioners 926, at a cost of £556,222, which was advanced as a loan to the several parishes, and the interest deducted from the stipends of the incumbents. The parishes have already repaid £293,635, or considerably more than half of this loan. Besides these glebe houses, 141 have been vested in the Representative Body by private donors, and considerable sums raised in other cases towards meeting the money advanced by the Board of Works, under the Glebes Loan Act, to build or purchase other glebe houses. Of the 926 glebes purchased by the Church Body, 198 have been resold, as being either unsuitable, or situated in parishes which had been united to others. There are still about 300 parishes which are without glebe houses for the incumbents.

Immediately on disestablishment, Boards of Education were formed, or re-organized, to foster religious education in the several dioceses. Annual examinations in religious knowledge are held in all dioceses, at convenient centres, and these "group" examinations have been most successful in furthering the religious instruction of the children of all classes.

Though the National System of Education was not generally accepted by the clergy or laity in 1831, yet the clergy who succeeded them were, as a rule, more favourably inclined towards the principle of united secular and separate religious instruction, and many parochial schools were placed in connection with the National Board¹; though in some places, where there were but few Church children, or where schools under Roman Catholic patronage already existed, such schools were not established.

The importance of having teachers in these schools qualified to give religious instruction to the children was fully recognised by the Church. The General Synod, therefore, authorized its Board of Religious Education to appoint a catechist to give daily religious instruction to the teachers in training in the Government College, Marlborough Street, Dublin, and to grant certificates to those who passed a qualifying examination in religious knowledge.

¹ The number of National schools under Church patronage on December 31st, 1897, was 1490, with 91,967 Church children on the rolls. On the same date there were 8,821 Church children attending schools under Roman Catholic teachers, and 7,679 Roman Catholic children attending schools under Protestant teachers.

The Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge generously appointed a second catechist. This effort, which is still continued for those teachers who are being trained in Marlborough Street, was attended with considerable success. It was felt, however, that if the Church had a training college under her own control, where the teachers could reside during their two years' training, constantly surrounded by the influence of a Christian home, they would go forth better fitted for the discharge of their important duties. In 1884 the General Synod approved of the scheme for founding a Church of Ireland Training College, the establishment of which is mainly due to the energy and foresight of Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, and is a lasting memorial to his wisdom and patriotism. Its success has been great, and many parishes in Ireland are indebted to it for well-trained teachers, who, in addition to their ordinary scholastic duties, generally prove capable and willing helpers in the various parochial organizations.

The Intermediate Education Act of 1878 has proved a great stimulus to secondary education in Ireland. The Board was entrusted with the administration of the interest arising from a grant of £1,000,000 from the Irish Church funds. As it carried on its work by means of exhibitions and prizes to the pupils, and results fees to the teachers of Intermediate Schools, for proficiency in a programme which included only secular subjects, there was a danger that due attention would not be given

to religious instruction in many of the competing schools. The Church recognised the danger, and, through the Board of Religious Education of the General Synod, undertook the annual examination of Intermediate Schools in the subjects of a common programme of religious knowledge, thus endeavouring to save these higher schools from being wholly secularized. The effort has been eminently successful.¹ This success, however, is entirely due to the Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which for more than a century has proved a faithful handmaid to the Church. When the Board of Religious Education of the General Synod felt itself unable to carry on the work from want of funds, the Association voluntarily undertook, not only to bear all the expense of the effort, but also to conduct the examinations and award medals and prizes to the successful candidates in the Intermediate Schools and Training Colleges. This it has continued to do since 1885, at a cost of about £300 a year, aided only, as yet, by one exhibition and a few memorial prizes.

In 1873 an Act of Parliament abolished all tests in the University of Dublin, except in the case of Professors and Lecturers in the Faculty of Theology, the appointments of which were still left to the Board. As this Board might in time be composed of men not members of the Church, the General Synod appointed a Committee in 1880 to consider

¹ The number of candidates at the examinations held in 1898 amounted to 1,883, and represented 63 Intermediate Schools.

the position of the Divinity School ; but, the Committee having reported, it was felt that the time had not yet come when it would be necessary to take further steps in the matter.

The interest which a Church takes in missionary work abroad, and the zeal with which she endeavours to carry out the Saviour's command to bring the Gospel to all nations, is perhaps one of the surest evidences of spiritual vitality and true progress. Tested by this standard, the Church of Ireland to-day, in spite of her difficulties, is not less active than she was in those early days of her existence when she sent forth her missionaries to plant the Church of Christ in other lands, where, even yet, their memory is still enshrined (pages 50, 51). Since Disestablishment she has done more for missionary effort than she did for probably a century before. During 1897 her contributions to Foreign Missions amounted to £34,712. But, better than the gold and the silver, she has given also of her sons and her daughters to the work. There are at present in the mission field connected with the two great societies—the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society—about 70 clergy of Irish birth, and 50 laity, of whom 35 are ladies, besides many other Irish missionaries working in connection with the less prominent societies.

Thus far *The Story of Ireland and her Church* has been briefly told. Many have been the vicissitudes through which the Church has passed ; but the good hand of God has preserved her through them all. The ancient Church of Ireland still survives, her

episcopal succession unbroken, her doctrine that of God's Word, and her discipline, as of old, untrammelled by foreign control. As the national Church of Ireland she occupies the whole land ; no foot of territory lies outside the bounds of her parochial organization ; yet it is to the faithful discharge of her spiritual duties and the consistent conduct of her members that she must look as the best means of winning, from those who as yet refuse her ministrations, an acceptance of her doctrines and her claims.

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